

INSIDE: SUMMIT FEVER IN MOSCOW

# Maclean's

JUNE 6, 1988

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

\$2

A close-up, color photograph of Michael Stanley Dukakis, smiling and looking slightly upwards and to the right. He is wearing a dark suit jacket, a light-colored striped shirt, and a dark tie. The background is blue with white stars, reminiscent of the American flag.

## Dukakis And Canada

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Massachusetts Gov.  
Michael Stanley Dukakis





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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

# Maclean's

JUNE 6, 2000, VOL. 110 NO. 24

## COVER

### Michael Dukakis up close

Massachusetts' Democratic Gov. Michael Dukakis—running 13 points ahead of his Republican rival, Vice-President George Bush, in a major public-opinion poll published last week—would be the most sympathetic White House incumbent ever in his approach to Canada, should he win November's presidential election. —Page 22

COVER PHOTO BY RONALD KIRBY



### The Politics of Summer

Trade Minister John Cranbin's introduction of the long-awaited free trade legislation marked the start of a rare—and acrimonious—phase in the House of Commons. —Page 10



A spreading German gloom  
After the Second World War West Germany launched an amazing economic comeback. But now the bloom is fading. Change is needed but slow to happen. —Page 49



### Marvels under the big top

Once a ragtag group of street performers, Montreal's innovative Cirque du Soleil has become one of the most successful circus troupes in the world. —Page 10



### A shocking best-seller

When writing her latest novel, Rose Sher, Jackie Collins says that she turned for advice to several real-life smokers, including her friends Bono, Stuart and Elton John. —Page 49

## CONTENTS

Art	69
Business/Economy	49
Canada	39
Commentary	36
Editorial	2
Environment	50
Films	62
Fishing/ingham	72
French	8
Justice	52
Letters	4
Newman	46
Passages	1
People	48
Small Business	78
Sports	58
World/Cover	20



## Unfortunate women

Modern's often informative and intellectual reading. What is the purpose of reporting Playboy publisher Hugh Hefner's latest conquest (People, April 28)? If anything, unfortunate women such as Kimberley Conrad deserve our pity. Why exploit them further?

—LINDA GILPIN,  
Brynner, Ont.

## Imperial art

When we lived in Montreal, my husband and I bought four deliciously painted Chinese scrolls of water lilies. They were sold to us as the work of Pu Jin, the brother of the last emperor of China, then living in Beijing. It was with considerable pleasure that I read your article on him ("The opium of an imperial past," *Globe*, Pu Jin, April 18).

—JOCELYN MCKAY SMITH,  
Port Moresby, P.N.G.

## Love thy neighbor

Fred Brunette is to be commended for his disquieting salute in Modern's April 18 edition ("Now the President is talking," *An American View*). It describes the Reagan administration's foreign policy exactly. You cannot keep on insulting your neighbor all the time and still expect him to love you, can you?

—KURTIS MOTT,  
Seymour, Alta.

## A grand note

Allan Fotheringham's column in the May 8 issue, "A short tinkle on the grand," was the best piece on the subject of libel that I've read in years.

—ROBERT PELFREY,  
Toronto



Cover of Playboy's latest conquest

Allan Fotheringham, you have become irrelevant. Who cares about the best beef from Kansas City ("On the road across America," May 2)? We need your writing not in Canada, and your initiative has failed at our political. Come back home where you make sense.

—MARAGRET MCKINLEY,  
Brampton, Ont.

## Enough is not enough

When I read "Preamble said that (Roxley) Harp found it difficult to live on his civil service salary—estimated to be about \$220,000"—it shocked me ("Shuffling the wheelchairs," *Canada*, May 2). This attitude reflects the excessive materialism of Canada today. Some extravagance as well as greediness for our privileged existence should make us reflect before complaining about our monetary position, which, in effect, is saying enough is not enough.

—WILL FLORE,  
Memora, Spain

## War letters

I would like to thank Modern's for the fine article on my father, King Whyte's Second World War letters ("Love letters from a witness to war," *Memories*, May 6). It was a beautiful tribute to my mother and father.

—KARLEIGH DAVIS,  
Toronto

In "Love letters from a witness to war," Whyte's statement that he was the only Canadian present when Field Marshal Montgomery signed the papers of surrender is untrue. I am a Canadian and was personal assistant to Montgomery. Furthermore, I am in the picture on page 96 wearing a platoon of the 4th Canadian Armoured Division. My husband, Jimmy Denis from Toronto, was there as was my driver, Bud Armstrong from Vancouver, and Lt-Col Bill Lockart of the Canadian division.

—COL. WILLIAM L. WARRIN,  
Puducherry, India

## PASSAGES

**BANDED:** Had to. Indrajit Singh Singh, 36, of Coventry, England, by a magistrate's court in London. Singh, a former Duncan, B.C., resident, is wanted in Canada to face eight charges, including manslaughter, in connection with the June 28, 1985, explosion at Tokyo's Narita airport. In that incident, a bomb hidden in a suitcase being taken from a CP Air jet plane exploded, killing two baggage handlers. On the same day an Air-India Boeing 747 flying from Toronto exploded in mid-air, a disaster apparently caused by a bomb near the coast of Ireland, killing all 329 on board, most of whom were Canadians. The court accepted prosecution arguments that Singh might see or try to interfere with witnesses before his extradition hearing, scheduled to begin on July 4.

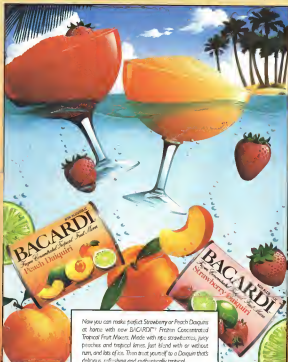
**ELICTED:** As general secretary and party leader of the Communist Party of Canada, George Hewison, 55, in an unexpected vote at the party's annual convention in Toronto. Hewison replaced William Kachuk, 75, who held the party's highest post for 33 years before retiring. Hewison, a party member for 27 years, served as secretary-treasurer of the Vancouver-based United Fisheries & Allied Workers from 1977 to 1985, when he left to become the Communist's chief industrial organizer. Hewison will earn \$250 per week.

**DEED:** Bud Watson, 55, internationally renowned Canadian photographer, whose large prints of wildlife and Georgia Bay earned him the coveted "designation of excellence" from the International Federation of Photographic Art in Bern, Switzerland, in Midland, Ont., after suffering a stroke. In 1973 Watson became the only photographer ever invited to display his work at the McEldrich Canadian Art Collection in Kitchener, Ont.

**TRIALISM:** Former Piquette president Ferdinand Marcos, 70, is in a Honolulu hospital after completing a chest pain. Marcos has lived in exile in Hawaii since the election of Corason Aquino as Piquette president in February, 1986.

**DEED:** Count Dino Grandi, 85, an early leader of the Fascist Party of Italy and for many years a close ally of Benito Mussolini, at his home in Bologna, from heart disease. A highly decorated captain in the First World War, Grandi was first elected to parliament in 1924 and later served Mussolini as minister of Foreign Affairs, minister of justice and ambassador to Britain from 1938 to 1939. In 1943 Grandi presented the official resolution that deplored the dictator.

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#### Top performances

Your coverage of the Boston Marathon (People, May 2) was an affront to Canadian women. Why would you ignore the fact that of the top 16 women, four were Canadian—the best performance by any country in attendance? If you are going to criticize the 60th-place Canadian male finisher, surely the women's results are at least as noteworthy.

—SUSAN STONE  
Toronto

#### Implied honor

I am writing concerning one of your feature articles, "Legacy of a warrior" (World, May 2). In these terms, it implies that Abu Jihad was an honorable and brave fighter. In truth, he was a terrorist, thus responsible for the murders of hundreds of innocent men, women and children, the massed and behind enemy troops hijackings and hostage-taking. How could you print an article like this without including a few lines describing Abu Jihad's notorious terrorist background or simply titling the article "Legacy of a terrorist"?

—PAUL DEPP,  
Richmond, Ont.

#### The right to withdraw

In "The cross and the classroom" (Column, May 2), Barbara Amiel is uncharacteristically liberal-minded. However, she made a serious error in asserting (twice) that school pupils in Ontario have the right to withdraw themselves from religious exercises or classes. Only their parents have that right, until the pupils reach 18, when they assume the right themselves. Would Amiel have been content to wait until she was 18 to exercise her right to withdraw from offensive religion in school?

—PETER HENSTY,  
"This spring exercise has been attacked for her absence from Pakistan during the Soviet withdrawal from neighboring Afghanistan—she spoke in Washington earlier this month and has been serving a London desk about Europe. But Bhutto's greatest handicap may be her gender: 95 per cent of the respondents to a 1986 Gallup poll said that they did not want a female president.

#### Twin leaders

Your story "Little to show from the final summit" (Canada, May 9) and the accompanying photograph of Benazir Bhutto and Imran Khan aptly illustrate the many similarities between these two leaders: same sals, same tea (literally and figuratively), same hair—(parted appropriately on the right), same charm, same blarney, same results.

—BRIAN ROSENTHAL,  
Markham, Ont.

*Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply name, address and telephone number. Most correspondence is to: Letters to the Editor, Maclean's magazine, Maclean's Printer 204, 777 Den St., Toronto, Ont. M5H 1A7.*

#### FOLLOW-UP

## Pakistan's firebrand

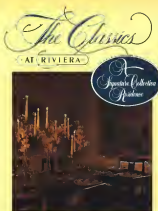
Her storybook wedding to a handsome polo player may have reassured some voters in a country where a 36-year-old single woman is regarded with more suspicion than respect. But following her December marriage to businessman Asif Ali Zardari, Pakistan opposition leader Benazir Bhutto still faces a tough fight to win the country's 105 million people away from right-wing President Mohammad Zia ul-Haq. Bhutto, daughter of former prime minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto—hanged following Zia's 1977 coup—is finding it increasingly difficult to unify her father's Pakistan People's Party. Among her problems: party factions dissatisfied with her two years of leadership, and the apparently increasing satisfaction with Zia's government.

Although some reformers say that the Oxford-educated Bhutto compromised her progressist beliefs with an arranged marriage, others take a different view. "Marriage has not taken away her passion for politics," said Malika Lodhi, a friend and editor of *The Muslim* daily newspaper. But Bhutto has angered some party members with policies that appear to depart from her father's socialist views and with what some critics describe as her "authoritarian style" of leadership. "That's rubbish," Bhutto said in a recent newspaper interview. "The people have given me that strength."

This spring Bhutto has been attacked for her absence from Pakistan during the Soviet withdrawal from neighboring Afghanistan—she spoke in Washington earlier this month and has been serving a London desk about Europe. But Bhutto's greatest handicap may be her gender: 95 per cent of the respondents to a 1986 Gallup poll said that they did not want a female president.

Meanwhile, Zia's popularity has increased as the country recorded a six-per-cent annual economic growth rate in the first part of this year. And Bhutto's tactic of courting groups that her father shunned, including the Muslim clergy, may backfire. "She can't disavow her father," said Pakistani journalist Hassan Haqqani. "That's all she's got." For Bhutto, a marriage and her father's memory offer both safeguards—and pitfalls.

—DEN BARRER in Islamabad



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## BIRTH CONTROL:

### a tragedy

More than four million women in 100 countries bought the Dalkon Shield to protect themselves from pregnancy, unaware of its potentially deadly flaw. But tests have shown that a nylon filament attached to the intrauterine device, manufactured by Rockwood, W.-based J. H. Roberts Co., irritates bacteria. Since the Dalkon Shield came on the market in 1971, doctors have linked it to as many as 20 deaths from pelvic infections. And thousands of other women have attributed ruptured abortions, infertility, scarring and other injuries to the IUD, withdrawn from the market in 1974. By 1985, facing a landslide of lawsuits, Roberts unsuccessfully applied for bankruptcy, and U.S. courts set an April 1988 deadline for claims. Now, the 194,000 women who filed claims—including 4,300 Canadians—face a difficult decision: they must vote by July 31 to accept or reject a \$2.6-billion settlement from Roberts—as an average of less than \$14,500 each.

Some legal and medical experts have valued the claims filed against Roberts as high as \$12.4 billion. Representatives of four Dalkon victims' rights organizations are advising claimants to reject the \$2.6-billion offer, saying that it is inadequate and may set a dangerous legal precedent. Stud Klavin Cusley, president of the 4,000-member, Vancouver-based Dalkon Shield Action Canada: "We will advise other companies to retroactively lead products and not worry because they can be sued by bankruptcy law." But according to Roberts spokesman Bruce Purdon, the offer is fair and, he added, more than the claimants "ever dreamed of getting."

Under the proposed decision on each claim may be appealed—but for claimants outside the United States, that may mean high legal costs. Meanwhile, victims' rights organizations are focusing their efforts on convincing the apparent Dalkon victims—who even now are still coming forward. "There are women who can no longer have children, whose marriages have broken up," declares Cusley, herself a claimant who, when 26, underwent a hysterectomy after an infection. Indeed, for most women who believe that they have been injured because they used the Dalkon Shield, it is difficult to decide how much money is adequate compensation.

—JILLIA BENNETT

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## COLUMN

# Principal's missing millions

By Diane Francis

It is May 17, Day 104 of the inquiry into the collapse of the Principal Group Ltd., and appendices Ken Martin offers with his lawyer. The hearing room is an Edmonton hydrazone is littered with transcripts, lawbooks and microphones. For eight months the media and police have attended the hearings, under the chairmanship of lawyer William Code, and proceedings are telecast daily. Martin is quietly bankrupt now, after being the Principal Group's senior vice-president of sales and a 10.5-per-cent partner with Principal chairman Don Corrie in Collective Securities Ltd., the holding company that perched atop their \$1.2-billion empire.

It all fell apart in June, 1987, when the Alberta government suspended the operating licences of Principal's two mortgage investment funds, First Western Corp. Ltd. and Associated Investors of Canada Ltd., leaving about 35,000 investors in three Atlantic and four western provinces with \$150 million in losses. That triggered the bankruptcy in August, 1987, of Principal Group, leaving 600 holders of promissory notes about \$60 million. The failure was due to poor mortgage investments, but millions more are unaccounted for.

Of all this testimony as far, most damning has been that of Corrie's executive assistant, Diane Stuchlik, a 25-year-old university graduate from Ontario. At the inquiry, she explained Department Right, Corrie's codename for the business maneuverings between Principal Group companies and various Corrie family companies. Department Right could have been named after Corrie's eight children, who, along with other family companies, devised as much as \$66.6 million worth of sweetheart loans out of the empire via Corrie and Martin's Collective Securities.

In an interview with *Maclean's*, Stuchlik repeated what she had told the inquiry that Department Right's operations were purposely hidden from Martin. "I was told not to give Ken [Martin] special information for Collective Securities even though he owned 14.5 per cent," she said. "I was told that if Ken ever asked for information, I was to give it to Don Corrie and Corrie would give it to him because Ken did not need to see it. Ken didn't say anything because he was terrified of him constantly."

Martin told *Maclean's* that he was

"shocked" when he learned that he made less than some of Corrie's children. For instance, Martin's salary was \$134,000 in 1987, but Corrie's testimony before the inquiry has revealed that between 1985 and 1987, Principal Group Ltd. and Corrie's daughter Allison, \$288,000 to research climatic and economic cycles while she was attending McMaster University. Allison's work involved archeological study of cold/wet and cold/dry climatic cycles over the past 3,000 years, for example.

At the same time, Estate Loan and Finance Ltd., the company run by Corrie's wife, Rose, was paid between \$20,000 and \$30,000 a month in management service fees from 1984 to 1987 to set up Principal's sales force—while Martin was allegedly juggling a salary for operating an exciting sales team full time. In addition, Corrie's wife was paid a salary and fees of \$275,000 to attend social functions such as "banquets"

**For eight months the media and the police have attended the hearings in Edmonton, and the inquiry grinds on**

and parties" in the 12 months before Principal declared bankruptcy. Millions were also lost to Martin by Corrie and Martin's personal holding company, Collective Securities Ltd., to Corrie and his children—while Martin borrowed money from the company to buy his home at rates as high as 30.5 per cent.

Martin, a former national defender who joined forces with Corrie 20 years ago, says that he has been most upset about what happened to money he personally raised out of Alberta's religious minorities, who bought pennyworth Securities from Principal Group. The sales were to be deployed by Principal Group for general corporate purposes, but, according to testimony at the inquiry, often ended up being lent to the registered retirement savings plans of Corrie children or to Corrie's personal companies or trusts, to pay loans or complete renovations. Stuchlik, he said, told the inquiry about one particular transaction that concerned \$225,000 lent on April 27, 1984, by the latter to Principal Group Ltd. in return for a guaranteed rate of 10.8 per cent.

Principal Group then lent that money

at 10.875 per cent interest to Collective Securities, which in turn lent \$50,000 of it to the Corrie family holding company, County Investments Ltd., to pay taxes owed. Some \$144,000 was lent to the Corrie ranching corporation at 10.5 per cent interest, another \$150,000 went to Merrill Lynch, to pay for studies, and \$13,724 was paid to a construction company. They were dozens more transactions like that.

In fact, at the time of the collapse, Corrie family members owed about \$6 million to County Investments. Apart from the question of morality, such maneuvers also raise serious tax questions. In Canada, individuals who receive loans lasting one year or more from a non-arm's-length corporation must declare them as income for tax purposes, but Corrie has argued before the inquiry that because County Investments did not have a member of his family in an official position, it was in fact an arm's-length company.

Martin owes north \$14 million on paper for his 10.5-per-cent stake, now sellers on the brink of financial ruin. "My creditors have my house, and I have lost everything," he said. "I only deliver personal bankruptcy." When bankruptcy trustees moved in last fall, Martin and Corrie signed over their ownership in return for settlements that gave Corrie \$5 million in assets and millions more in loan forgiveness terms. Martin got \$50,000 cash up front and another \$100,000 spread over 36 months. That was about halfway. Martin covered the truth about Department Right.

Martin says that he plans to sue Corrie for shareholder "oppression"—an offence under the Alberta Business Corporation Act. The BCCA is clearly defining the hearing, which grinds on with Code hoping to extract his written conclusions this fall. Corrie, for his part, agreed last fall to a public airing he could have fought for a private hearing, but now fights in court against Code's publicizing conclusions on the grounds that the inquiry is not a court of law.

Meanwhile, although Ken Martin has been destroyed financially, he retains a salesman's sense of humor. "I learned one thing. There are three kinds of shareholders in this world: majority, minority and ignored. I was one of the ignored." And in my opinion, Principal will make as one of Canada's biggest scams, with Ken Martin and others unwitting victims of Donald Corrie's family, and *Maclean's*, Montreal *Weekend*.





# The Politics of Summer

International Trade Minister John Crosbie had been gearing up for the occasion for weeks. But when the moment finally arrived to unveil the government's historic free trade legislation last week there were some unexpected hitches.

For almost an hour opposition MPs in the House of Commons kept Crosbie waiting while they dished with the Tories over a motion clearing the way for a free vote on Canada's abortion laws. Then Liberals and New Democrats held up proceedings for another 30 minutes by demanding two separate votes on the introduction of the 125-page trade bill. Blocked in his green velvet chair, a visibly irate Crosbie shouted across the chamber that, in spite of the opposition's delaying tactics, Parliament would affirmatively pass the legislation. But as the bells rang for the second vote, Liberal MP Lloyd Axworthy warned that the episode was merely a forerunner of his party's strategy to fight the bill. Declared Axworthy with a grin, "It is only just beginning."

Despite the relaxed mood in the House, there was no denying that the introduction of the long-awaited trade legislation marked the start of a new and arduous phase in Parliament. Even as federal bureaucrats were putting the final touches to Crosbie's opening strategies for both opposition parties were poring over the parliamentary rulebook for arcane procedural devices that could be used to drag out debate on the free trade bill and, if possible, force the government to call an election. At the same time, senior Tories have been drawing up plans to push through the Commons a growing backlog of other major bills—including legislation to prevent part of Air

Canada, approve the Meech Lake constitutional accord, reform the income-tax system and implement a promised federal-provincial child care program. As for Tory strategists, put it last week "It is going to be very busy in June. Bang, bang, bang—get out of

that this government has started more legislation and produced less than any government in history that I know of. Now time is running out, and we find that we have not done any of the things we set out to do."

On the opposition benches, MPs are digging in for what many of them predict will be a long, fractious summer. Complained NDP House Leader Nelson Binn "This is the biggest legislative plop, the biggest logjam, that I have ever seen in my eight years as an MP." Axworthy, meanwhile, said that the government appeared to be planning to use its massive majority—the Tories held 397 of the 552 seats in the Commons—to keep Parliament sitting for as long as necessary to wear down the opposition.

As last week's procedural wrangling demonstrated, the two opposition parties can mount to a wide range of delaying tactics in an effort to block approval of the free trade bill. They can propose amendments and amendments to the legislation, insist on holding time-consuming membership-referred votes rather than voice votes on each of the 253 elements in the bill, and apply pressure on the government to hold public hearings on the merits of free trade. In the face of

such challenges, the government has vowed it will not hesitate to use its power to cut off debate in the Commons. But the battle would then shift to the Senate, where Liberal leader Allan Rock has been elected on a launch as an anti-free trade deal. Said Liberal Senator Wayne Pratt, "Crosbie's job is to get this thing done as fast as he can. But he has to do it within the system, and that includes the Senate."

Still, opposition MPs acknowledged

that they will have to tread carefully to avoid leaving the impression that they are simply obstructing government business. The star is willing to give speedy approval to Health Minister Jake Lipp's controversial bill to outlaw tobacco advertising. The Liberals, for their part, do not want to be seen as blocking Lipp's bill because child care programs, announced last December. Said the star's Rita, "We will have to pick and choose our targets."

Even though Crosbie faces a tough battle in the weeks ahead, the preliminary signs last week were mostly favorable to the free trade bill. The premiers of Quebec, Alberta and Nova Scotia each expressed concerns about two clauses in the bill that give Ottawa sweeping powers over provincial laws to ensure that they comply with the trade pact. Still, none of the three went so far as to withdraw support for the agreement. And in Prince Edward Island, Premier Joe Ghitt—Be and Ontario's David Peterson are the only provincial leaders who oppose the free-trade treaty—announced that he had decided for the time being not to fight the bill in the courts because it did not appear to represent an unacceptable intrusion on his province's jurisdiction.

Even Peterson seemed to be having second thoughts. Earlier, he had suggested that he might launch a constitutional challenge of the federal legislation on the basis that it infringes on matters of provincial jurisdiction. But now a barrage of provincial NDP critics, Peterson told the Ontario legislature that he needed more time to study the bill before deciding how to respond. Above all, Peterson will have to consider the danger that an unsuccessful court challenge by Ontario could have far-reaching implications for pro-



Freeman: no provincial court action

vincial rights in other areas where the federal and provincial governments are in jurisdiction. If that happened, it would anger other premiers—notably Quebec's Robert Bourassa, a strong champion of provincial rights.

Late last week Crosbie received more good news from Washington. Under rising pressure from the White House, two important congressional committees gave their consent to the U.S. legislation to implement the trade accord. To the relief of Canadian trade officials, the committees decided not to include in the bill a provision that would prevent it from going into effect

next June unless all 39 Canadian provinces comply with the agreement. According to congressional aides, the committee members feared that such a provision would only give Ottawa more power in its fight to derail the free trade agreement. U.S. Senate Finance Committee chairman Lloyd Bentsen said later that he hoped both houses of Congress would vote on the final free-trade legislation before a planned August recess.

With congressional approval all but assured, Mulroney could afford to concentrate on the coming battle in Ottawa—and on how the free trade debate will affect the timing of the next election. As recently as a month ago senior Tories appeared confident that the party had started to shift back from a prolonged slump in the public-opinion polls. But a survey released by Angus Reid Associates late last week seemed to squelch those expectations. The poll found that only 31 per cent of respondents favored the Tories, compared to 37 per cent for the Liberals and 38 per cent for the New Democrats. Although most Tories still favor a fall vote, one Mulroney adviser said that the Prime Minister was "totally firmness" by his party's lackluster performance in the polls and was beginning to lean toward an election in the spring of 1989. Added the adviser, "Mulroney is upskated. The only option we have is to keep Parliament sitting all bloody summer, or at least until August, and then have another look at the way of the last. Then, then, the atmosphere in the House of Commons is likely to grow increasingly combative."

—BRIAN LAYNE with MARK CLARK, RILEY MACKENZIE and THOMAS TREHARNS in OTTAWA AND ALEX FERGUSON in Toronto

## Speaker in the hot seat

He was elected Speaker of the House of Commons by his fellow members in a watershed 11-ballot, parliamentary vote 30 months ago. Since then, John Fraser has been widely credited with restoring civility to a chamber that was earning a reputation for shoving matches. But the coming summer sitting could prove to be his severest test yet. With all parties predicting a stormy season if the Conservative

government tries to force through a backlog of legislation, Fraser's job will be to keep the lid on debate. Said New Democratic Party House Leader Nelson Binn "You will see parliamentary political violence aimed at the Tories." Said Liberal House Leader Herb Gray "The mood will not be very good."

From his chair at the head of the chamber, Fraser, 54, must control the often sharp exchanges between the majority Con-

servative and the smaller opposition parties. He must command MPs' attention during the daily Question Period, the former's informal chamber, who resigned from the Commons in 1968 following the controversy about his donation to a now failed loan to go on the market, must read the mood of the Commons and intervene judiciously to maintain order. Said Fraser, "Every MP will get a kind of pressure that most people will never understand. It creates a tension that breaks sometimes with laughter

and good humor, and sometimes with acerbic and even vicious words."

So far, even his peers agree that Fraser's manner, somewhat detached style has been more effective than the popular approach of his predecessor, John Roblin. Said Rita "He will need all the skills of analysis, judgment and firmness that he has shown to date." Indeed, as MPs put vacation plans on hold and watch for signs of a fall session, Fraser can look forward to a long, hot summer.

—RILEY MACKENZIE in Ottawa



Crosbie with free trade documents: a heavy June agenda for Parliament

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## A rocky summit road trip

**B**rince Mulroney's advisers are well aware of the political perils of international tours. "If the Prime Minister performs well, the reaction in Canada is neutral," said an official in the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) "But if he makes a gaffe, the public will crucify him." That observation seemed to be partly borne out by Mulroney's trip through five European capitals last week to meet national leaders in preparation for next month's Toronto economic summit. Although the low-key mis-

sion farmers to be caught in the shoot-out between the Europeans and the United States," he seagull. Pressed by reporters to discuss his earlier mistakes, Mulroney merely walked away. As chairman and host of the June 19-to-June 21 summit, Mulroney visited the other participants to discuss the format and agenda for the Toronto meeting. At the end of his five days of meetings, Mulroney said that the summit would try to restore badly needed political momentum to the (now far global) trade liberalization and to negoti-



Mulroney and Mitterrand in Paris: a slip on subsidies, a fist over drinkthrough

sion achieved some successes, Mulroney was visibly upset after his own officials contradicted his contention that Canada did not subsidize agriculture to the same degree as the European Community (EC) does. Mulroney's slip—and subsequent angry encounter with reporters in Rome—cast a shadow over the trip. Still, there had been a bright spot in Paris, with the announcement that negotiations to resolve the fishing boundary dispute between Canada and France would resume in June.

Mulroney's inaccurate statements about agricultural subsidies tarnished efforts by Tory strategists to solidify their base's credentials that negotiations to resolve the fishing boundary dispute between Canada and France would resume in June.

It was to ease Third World debt. But the European trip demonstrated how deeply divided Mulroney and North American leaders remain over the issue of farm subsidies.

The subsidies issue blew up when a senior EC official in Brussels declared that Canada was a major culprit in subsidizing farm incomes. Mulroney denied the charge, insisting that Canadian farm subsidies were not "to the same degree" as those of the United States or Europe, neither "in proportion nor in amount."

But later in Paris, a senior Canadian official, who may have been unaware of Mulroney's earlier statement, told reporters during a briefing that Canadian subsidies account on average for 40 per cent of Canadian farmers' incomes, only slightly below the EC's average of 45 per cent. Although Canadian officials said that Ottawa has been

forced to increase its help to farmers to keep pace with subsidies elsewhere, the admission damaged Mulroney's attempt to portray Canada as an innocent victim of the subsidy war between the United States and the EC.

In order to stem any war of words over agriculture policy that might dampen the Toronto summit to failure, Mulroney tried to use last week's trip to strengthen his rapport with the other leaders. Members of Mulroney's entourage said that his spirits were lifted by the warm welcome extended by West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl. After a formal reception from a West German honor guard at the Cologne airport, Mulroney and his entourage travelled by helicopter to Schloss Grenchen, a 12th-century castle surrounded by a moat. In Bonn the next day, after private meetings with Kohl, a boozing Mulroney played down Kohl's lavish attitude toward maintaining agricultural subsidies. Said a two official who accompanied Mulroney on the trip, "Kohl went out of his way to demonstrate friendship."

But Mulroney's relationship with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher—the most senior of the attendees—in poor "Waggle's a problem for the boss," admitted a two official. "She likes to run her own show." Canadian officials in London were privately disappointed by the low-key reception given to Mulroney. Said Patrick Macdonald, minister-counsellor at the Canadian High Commission in London: "They treated us like a bunch of colonialists."

Still, the trip was not without accomplishments. In Paris, Mulroney and newly elected French Prime Minister Michel Rocard agreed to reopen negotiations in the food over fishing rights in disputed waters of Newfoundland. But Mulroney was clearly distressed by his erroneous statements on the subsidies issue. The confusion was particularly damaging because it came at a time when several Canadian farmers are looking to Ottawa for leadership to survive in the face of subsidized international competition.

Although Canadian officials expressed confidence that progress could be made on the subsidy fight in Toronto, few European officials were as hopeful. Speaking to reporters in Rome, Mulroney admitted that the response to proposals for reducing subsidies was not "overwhelming because of the political realities." He added, "There is political pain involved in this." And as a result of his own misstatement, the issue cast a shadow over Mulroney's efforts to make an impression on the other stage.

—BRUCE WALLACE in Rome



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**W**hen the Tory blue tide swept across Canada in the 1984 federal election, Toronto was caught in its path. The Conservatives, who held only one of the Metropolitan Toronto area's 29 ridings before the election, were thus doubled their share, winning 19 of the seats. But with Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's party now languishing in third place in most polls, Tory prospects in the Toronto area in the next federal election—expected within the next year—are providing no

encouragement to partly strategists. Despite a booming Ontario economy, which has reduced unemployment to 2.3 per cent in Toronto—the lowest level in the country—Conservative polls show that the party is in deep trouble in the city. “Toronto is booming, but the polls won’t move,” said a senior assistant in Mulroney’s office. “It makes no sense.”

As a result, senior Conservatives identified last week that the party could lose two-thirds of the seats it now holds in Toronto—and party strategists were planning a campaign aimed at salvaging at least one. They wanted to win Toronto's 16 seats in Canada's richest city. The Tories' poor showing in Toronto—which includes several unpredictable "swing" ridings—has led some political observers to speculate that the party will virtually write off Toronto in the coming campaign and focus on other parts of the country. Last week that notion produced a furious response from a senior Tory. "You can't give up government by writing off Metro," he said. "It is too big a sign of the ride."

But the outlook for the Tories is now so bleak that Senator Warren, a party organizer in the eastern half of the Toronto region, estimated that only eight sitting Tory MPs "have a good chance" of being re-elected in Toronto. Surveys conducted by the Conservatives, Liberals and New Democratic Party all suggested that, if an election were held now, only a handful of Toronto-area Tories—including Finance Minister Michael Wilson in Rideau Centre, Massachusetts South MP Gordon Shankar and former Commons speaker Joseph Kew—would survive. The odds would be long for both Tories and Liberal polls gave Immigration Minister Barbara McDougall only a 50-50 chance in the volatile St. Paul's riding, while their closest almost certain defeat for

backbenchers such as Robert Prosser in Etobicoke North and Andrew Wilton in Parkdale-High Park.

As the likeliest beneficiaries of a Tory collapse in Toronto, would-be Liberal candidates are currently engaging in a round of tough battles for nominations. The Liberals now hold six Toronto-area seats, while the NLR has three, and one is occupied by an independent. When district redistribution takes effect on July 15—increasing total membership of the House of Commons to 295 from



Midnight a grim outlook for Conservative candidates in Toronto after major gains in 1984

2002—there will be three new Toronto seats, for a total of 20.

They strategize say that the principal source of their party's woes is the failure to impress ethnic voters, a segment of the population that historically has favoured the Liberals. Indeed, Tory strategists in Toronto call a cluster of its newly ethnic Liberal-McM editors, which have not elected a Conservative since 1972, "the dead end." They say that the results of the 1984 election, in which members of ethnic communities voted Conservative in the same proportion as other groups, was an aberration. Now, these voters have swung back to the Liberals, said one Tory. "If there is an underlying problem in Tory support, it is that we are seen as the party of the male Anglo businessman."

Some Conservative Jews have other problems that arise from the ethnic makeup of their ridings. In McDougall's St. Paul's riding, which contains the predominantly Jewish community of

Foreign Minister Joe Clark to the Canadian House of Commons in March, criticizing Israel's handling of the Palestinian uprising, created resentment. Last week, in an effort to repair the damage, McDougall wooed Jewish voters at Holy Blossom Temple synagogue.

Meanwhile, Toronto campaign workers admitted that Mulroney—whose personal popularity remains at low levels in opinion polls—is a factor in the party's general unpopularity. Said Douglas Menzieswhite, Conservative riding association president for Etobicoke North: "Mulroney is still unpopular. It is not a problem that can be

solved by one particular riding."

Now, conservative organizers say they hope that high-profile cabinet members such as International Trade Minister John Crosbie, Defence Minister Dennis Healey, Minister of State Gerry Weiner and Wilson will help refurbish the party's image when they visit Toronto this summer to sell the government's record to voters. Last week Wilson entertained their supporters with a high-priced dinner. As well, Ottawa plans to court ethnic voters by making ad libraries on government programs available in a variety of languages before the next election. Still, party strategists acknowledge that they have a difficult task ahead in convincing Toronto voters that their party can

—PHIL KAFELA with MARC CLARK and  
JILLARY MATHESON in Ottawa

—PHIL KATILA with MARI CLARK and  
JULIE WATKINS in Oshawa.

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Paris

1974  
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1976  
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1977  
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1978  
Geneva

1979  
Paris

1981  
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Abdullah Yugovskiy court charges of illegal profits, fraud and theft

## A Canadian in trouble

For the past three weeks a sensational trial has unfolded in a poorly ventilated courtroom in Belm, a sleepy market town in the mountainous Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Facing charges of fraud and theft are 34 company and bank officials arrested in an alleged multimillion-dollar scam which has shaken economically troubled Yugoslavia to its socialist foundations. Last week the court heard statements by Viktor Abdić, the disgraced president of Agrokomm, a food-processing firm that allegedly issued millions of dollars in worthless promissory notes. Another 20 defendants awaited trial in a nearby prison. Among them was Henry Melick, 46, a Yugoslav-born Toronto businessman charged with making an illegal profit in a deal with Agrokomm. The only foreigner charged in the scandal, Melick, who has pleaded not guilty, faces a three-to-10-year prison sentence if he is convicted.

A naturalized Canadian who had no agreement with Agrokomm to distribute Yugoslav processed foods in North America, Melick was arrested when he visited that Yugoslav last September. He was charged with conspiring to gain an "illegal material benefit" in the form of a commission of roughly \$500,000 for a deal he made with Agrokomm in Sep-

tember, 1986, to buy soybeans on the North American market for export to Yugoslavia. In Toronto, Melick's Philippine-born wife, Priscilla, insists that her husband is guilty only of being an assistant of Abdić. "Any Yugoslav will tell you it's a bare rap," she said. "They had to blame someone, and my husband walked in at the wrong time."

As well, lawyers hired to represent Melick in Toronto and Belgrade argue that Yugoslavs has no right to try Melick as a Yugoslav citizen and that the Yugoslav court has no jurisdiction over a financial transaction carried out in North America. For his part, Melick's Belgrade lawyer, Aleksandar Lajpar, warned that the charges will discourage Western businessmen from dealing with Yugoslavs. "After all, who will want to do business with Yugoslavs if you get arrested for making a profit?"

The chain of events that led to Melick's arrest began in 1981, when he visited his birthplace in the Bosnian village of Velika Kladusa. Melick, who emigrated to Canada in 1964, found the once-independent village transformed. Agrokomm, a state-owned agroindustrial conglomerate, had built modern factories, and the village boasted a department store and an Olympic-size swimming pool. Pondering over it all was Abdić, who had gone to school with Mel-

ick. A prominent member of the Bosnian Muslim community, Abdić dominated Velika Kladusa like a feudal lord. Melick and Abdić later arranged for Melick's Toronto importer firm, Fluoroc Industrial (Canada) Ltd., to distribute Agrokomm products in North America. But, according to David Smith, a Toronto lawyer who is acting for Melick, many of the Yugoslav products handled by Fluoroc proved to be substandard. Smith said that they included boxed chocolate containing wax cockroaches and jam that contained ground glass. Lajpar said that at the same time Melick was able to earn commissions on bulk purchases of commodities, which he arranged for Agrokomm. One of these took place in September, 1986. Asked by Agrokomm to purchase soybeans, Melick selected the firm that he had arranged for a Chicago supplier to provide 20,000 tons of soybeans. But Fluoroc's taking price included a nine-percent markup, which ultimately yielded a profit of roughly \$500,000.

A year later Abdić's empire collapsed. Yugoslav press reports said that Agrokomm presented a major Russian bank to guarantee a series of worthless promissory notes worth at least \$600 million, which the firm then sold for cash to other banks. In the ensuing scandal, Yugoslav's vice-president, Radoslav Kostic, the nation's most influential Muslim leader, resigned. When Melick returned to Yugoslavia last year he was promptly arrested. In February, under pressure from Canadian officials in Belgrade to stand by their case, Yugoslav authorities charged Melick with making an illegal profit on the soybean deal. Yugoslav officials also stated that Abdić received a lookback from the deal.

For his part, Priscilla Melick launched a campaign to persuade Ottawa to put pressure on Yugoslavia to free her husband. In Ottawa, Edward Lee, an assistant deputy minister in the external affairs department, told Melick's wife that Canadian officials worked hard to persuade Yugoslavs to speed up the legal process. But he said that Canada has "no particular leverage" in the case. "Until they try him," added Lee, "it is difficult for us to know what is really going on."

In the meantime, Melick's lawyers said that, although their client admitted earning a nine-percent commission for the soybean deal, he denied that kickbacks were involved. They also said that he refused a Yugoslav offer to release him if he repaid the commission and admitted guilt. Now, nearly nine months after his arrest, Melick still waits in a Bosnian jail cell for his case to be heard.

—ANN FENLAWSON AND  
RUE MASTERSMAN in Belm

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# A crackdown on drugs along the border

What was to have been a routine shopping expedition turned into a nightmare for a young Keweenaw, D.O. On April 13 Brenda Dureau and her husband, Kenneth Atwood, both 38, and a neighbor drove to the border town of Oranville, Wash. There, U.S. customs officers searched Dureau's 1986 Saab 900. Several years and three passengers in Dureau's purse they found a package of cigarette papers, which can be bought at most tobacco-

vice office in Buffalo, N.Y., the program's aim was to indirectly attack large-scale drug dealers by cracking down on casual users. Said Dureau: "Without drug users, there is no need for drug growers or drug dealers." But the inflexibility with which agents pursued the zero-tolerance program caught many travelers by surprise. Typically, at the Alton, N.Y., near the Quebec border, U.S. officers have arrested 38 people on drug charges and seized 82 vehicles—22 of them because

of the Ambassador Bridge fined her \$170 and seized her 1988 Honda. Accord in early April after they found expensive tablets—"Adderall"—tells us, never drugstore counters in both countries— in her tote bag. "When I asked them how I could get my car back, the customs men just laughed and told me they didn't give them back anymore," said Gifford. She hired an American lawyer. Then, at a Detroit court appearance on May 13, she learned that the charges had been dropped. A week later, she was able to reclaim her car. "They wanted to give me back my pile, too," she said, "but I said 'No thanks, I'll probably get caught with them on the way back.'"

In Keweenaw, Dureau's father has posted a \$500 bond to prevent her car from being sold at auction and returned a U.S. lawyer to recover the vehicle. "It's a terrible injustice," said Reed Dureau, whose daughter gave birth to a boy last week. Added Dureau's lawyer, William Gifford, "There may be legitimate uses of forbidden as a deterrent, but it boils down to strict customs laws, and I think that has gone out the window."

SPB, a U.S. customs spokesman told McClure's last week that, although the seizure order cited only the cigarette papers, officers had also found the remains of a cigarette that later proved to contain traces of marijuana.

Despite the criticism levelled at zero tolerance, Canadian authorities are considering launching a similar program. But a Canada Customs director, Vince Côté, says, "The U.S. policy is being too inflexible. Let's face it," said Côté, "the penalty should relate to the offense." For their part, U.S. officials showed no signs of easing off in their tough stance as the border—a fact of life that is persuading some motorists to clean out their cars before crossing into U.S. territory.

—CINDY BARETTY with DEBORAH RICHMOND in Vancouver, BRUCE TESSER in Ottawa and corresponding reports



Gifford, when I asked how I could get my car back, the customs men laughed.

they found drug-related items, such as pipes for smoking dope. In the United States, while the program has produced some major drug confiscations, nonconvicted smokers seized some sensational winners. U.S. customs officials seized a \$2.5-million luxury yacht off Miami after finding less than one-tenth of an ounce of marijuana on board. And an \$80-million research vessel met a similar fate in San Diego. After officials found two marijuana pipes and some scraps of the drug in a crew member's shaving kit. After widespread publicity in both cases, the ships were released. But officials of the New York City-based American Civil Liberties Union said that they plan to challenge the zero-tolerance policy in the courts on constitutional grounds.

Jodie Gifford, a 21-year-old Air Canada payroll clerk from London, Ont., was among Canadians caught by the new policy. Officials at the Detroit side

According to Carlinus Reinken, district director for the U.S. Customs Ser-



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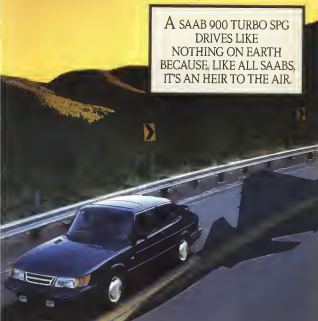
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# Michael Dukakis Up Close



In the sprawling Boston suburb of Brookline, the retired red-brick house at 85 Perry St. is like its owner—partially hidden from view. High hedges and a flowering chestnut tree conceal its weathered facade from passers-by. And on a recent Sunday the house might have gone unnoticed had it not been for half a dozen secret service agents outside, keeping watch over the man once-named Pres.

But as the agents paced the driveway in grey suits and sunglasses, they found themselves standing guard over an unusual spectacle. On the far side of the hedge, Michael Stanley Dukakis—the man whose political last week predicted would be the next president of the United States—was strolling a few hours from the campaign trail to indulge in a cherished annual ritual: planting seedlings in his tiny front garden. That spectacle not only showed the cerebral Massachusetts governor as he is seldom seen in public—relaxed and expressive—it also underlined the down-to-earth availability of the complex man who will almost surely emerge from next week's California primary as the Democratic party's presidential nominee.

Truth is, indeed, as the primary season entered its final stretch last week, respondents to a Washington Post/ABC News poll preferred Dukakis over Vice-President George Bush by a 55-to-40-per-cent margin. And for the first time in more than a decade a majority declared that they had more confidence in a Democrat to lead the national purse strings than a Republican. Dukakis has earned that esteem trust largely on his record as the man who has presided over what has often called "the Massachusetts Miracle" (page 28). But after four months of presidential primaries the 54-year-old governor remains better known as a manager than a man.

Still, in an interview with *Mademoiselle*, Dukakis revealed himself as a politician who, if elected president, would be the most sympathetic U.S. leader in history to Canadian needs and sensitivities (page 26). Dukakis is also the presidential candidate best-known to Canadian politicians. A foe of acid rain, Dukakis in fact may make the so-called special relation-



The candidate: an American dream

ship between the two countries a reality. But at home, Dukakis remains a contradictory figure. In his eight years as governor he has determinedly resisted the lifestyle of the overseas man, forgoing the pomp of office and taking the Boston subway to work. Yet he has never quite mastered the overseas touch and he has had to teach himself to make small talk. Although he is widely regarded as a cool technician, his friends and family know him as a man of intense emotions. He wept openly at the news conference last year when his wife, Kitty, confessed her 26-year addiction—now cured—to diet pills. And on the campaign trail, he fondly embraced his stepson, John, 29 and daughter Andrea, 25, and Karen, 18, who have followed out over California in campaign for him.

Lesser men there may doubt that his marriage is one of the few genuine love stories in American politics. A reporter recently blundered into the private rooms of a Boston apartment after a day on the campaign trail only to discover the governor and his wife alone, facing each other, to cheek. Said his first high-school girlfriend, Sandy Dukakis, now a Boston housewife: "Michael is one of those people who doesn't wear his emotions on his sleeve. He saves them for his private circle."

Observers have consistently characterized Dukakis as uncharismatic. And the candidate himself admitted that he is "not a smile-dimple kind of guy," adding, "let I think I grow on people." Still, the governor has managed to inspire a generation of young activists to follow him in a reform movement—leading them in routing the corrupt Democratic Old Guard. And under his incentive three terms, Massachusetts has been transformed from what he calls "a basket case" to a high-tech showpiece, with unemployment dropping to under three per cent this year from 11.2 per cent in 1975. In fact, when Dukakis was re-elected in his second term as governor in 1982, his personal dominion, Nicholas Mitropoulos, mood more than 15,000 job applications for the public service. Said Mitropoulos: "These were people willing to take major salary cuts. They got inspired to convert."

Surprise. In fact many members of the Dukakis team say that their candidate's low-key style works in his favor. At a Hollywood rally two weeks ago, movie star Sally Field declared, "I am passionate about Mike Dukakis." And some predict that—like Ronald Reagan, another politician whose loved-upness was artfully underemphasized by the media—Dukakis may gradually disarm his audience. According to veteran Democratic strategist Anthony Padellaro: "The rap that he has a lack of charisma is the secret weapon of the campaign. People walk into his speeches with expectations that are very

low and they end up being surprised." In fact, many election experts say that Dukakis is a politician who is capable of blurring old ideological battle lines. And some scholars predict that, if he is elected to the White House, he could turn out to be more of a conservative. The secret may be in his childhood. The seven sons of a doctor do not challenge that view. Said Mitropoulos: "I think he is awfully fiscally conservative by nature. You can start with how he spends the money in his own wallet." Indeed, Dukakis's reputation as a peacemaker who knows how to lay hands on the Bush House—and who buys his suits in the bargain basement of Boston's department store Filene's—has become a Massachusetts joke.

And on the campaign trail, Kitty Dukakis explains reporters with tales about his fragility. He insists on doing the family's weekly shopping himself, she says, and he refused to give their children allowances. But his wife says reports that she hides her new clothes at her parents' house are exaggerated. "I'd put them in my closet for a while to disprove the rumors," she says when I see them and he would ask, "Is that new?" I'd just say "No, I've had it for months." I didn't exactly lie, because by then it was true.

Dreams That fragility has its roots in the sparse, well-wooded hillsides overlooking in Brookline where he grew up, only three kilometers from his present home. There, behind a white picket fence, he was raised to believe in the reality of the American dream. His father, Peter, had arrived from Greece at 16—with \$25 and the word of English-speaking brothers who were already in America, working in the kitchens of Greek restaurants and the textile mills on the New Hampshire-Massachusetts border. Twelve years after landing in America, Peter's eldest son, the country's most prestigious medical school, Harvard, as an obstetrician. But it was not until he had set up in private practice near Boston's Greek Orthodox cathedral that Peter Dukakis started rearing a young teacher named Nicholas Dukakis, whom he met just briefly after years before. Within a year they married.

Another immigrant, who had arrived at the age of 16, Katherine had a background similar to her husband's. She had studied at Massachusetts Bay College to become a high-school teacher. Last week—at 84, a widow for more years—she was campaigning for her son in California. She told *Mademoiselle*: "To go away to college was a reward of in those days when a girl was in a family. I went to a residential college, but could not date because my family would have been terribly upset." Michael, her second son, was raised to respect the values of education and discipline.

As Dukakis campaigns in Greek neighborhoods, his speeches take on a more note of

passion. And his Greek connections have provided him with a substantial proportion of his \$10 million in campaign funds. In fact, many Greeks who have previously voted Republican are now rallying around him. And their loyalty has even crossed borders. Anna Kapetan, a London, Ont., widow, remembers young

Michael Dukakis from her girlfriend in Boston, when his father removed her appendix. Now her son John, a Hollywood actor who appeared in the film *Witness*, has volunteered to work for Dukakis. Said John Kapetan, "I am proud because he is Greek-American. What he represents to me is that you can achieve whatever you want."

**Symbols** Dukakis himself is at his most moving as he speaks to immigrant audiences, whether Greek, Hispanic or Asian. His campaign has consciously reached out to ethnic minorities. Two weeks ago, at the end of a hectic day of campaigning, he came to life at a fund raiser in the Golden Dragon, a Los Angeles Chinese restaurant. There, 2,000 Asian-Americans had paid \$500 a plate to hear him describe himself as "a symbol for ethnic minorities all over America."

Said Dukakis: "If this sea of immigrants can seek and win the presidency, then your kids and grandchildren can do it. That's what this country is all about."

Like many immigrants, the Dukakis family valued education. And the governor travels the country now, urging students to become teachers. He also talks of creating a kind of domestic Peace Corps, where volunteers would work part-time for the education of their students. That ideal of public service, he said, results from watching his father "helping others, building houses." Added Dukakis, "That's why I am in politics. I don't know of any vocation, with the exception of medicine, where you can do more to make a real difference in the lives of people."

**Realist:** Dukakis himself was a brilliant student. Not only did he top his high-school class but he won places on the baseball, track and tennis teams, was voted president of his student council, and served as class valedictorian in Brookline high school. In fact, one of his many female students who was dazzled by his accomplishments was Kitty Dukakis—the daughter of a Jewish rabbi—with the Boston Symphony Orchestra—who was three years his junior. She dropped out of college at 19 to marry an air force officer named John Chaffin. But after their divorce four years later



All home with daughter Andrea, (left), Kara (far right) and wife, Kitty; intense eyebrows

On their first date, in a French restaurant, she found him as driven and as clear about his goals as ever. She was touched too, by his kindness to her son, when he often begged. Despite the affection of their families, they married, raising their children in both the Greek Orthodox and Jewish religions and traditions. In either respects, too, their partnership is a testimonial to have a marriage of openness can thrive. Dukakis is obviously sane, she admits that she is hopelessly messy. And for years, as they drove about the state on his gubernatorial campaign, Kitty Dukakis would sneak into the backseat for a cigarette while the oncoming Dukakis sat apoplectic glowing in disapproval.

**Active:** But she remains his closest friend and his sounding board. As First Lady, she makes clear that she would be "an activist." She is a tireless advocate for the homeless and refugees. She also joined entry to a refugee

camp in Thailand by throwing herself into her knees in front of a Thai soldier who had refused her entry. Indeed, so involved has she been in her husband's cause that, on occasion, she has angered some state officials by sharing with their office demanding action.



Dukakis and wife in San Francisco; opposite attract

She attributes her suspicious behavior partly to her previous addiction to prescription amphetamines, which she started taking at 19, "intense I thought I was fit." Now, when her husband addresses students, she often joins in to urge them not to take drugs. "Think long and hard," she told black high-school



Dukakis and wife in San Francisco; opposite attract

students in Los Angeles. "Life is too sweet."

Another profound influence on Dukakis's life was his cousin in Massachusetts' 1970s gubernatorial primaries. Since college Dukakis had dreamed of a career in politics like his hero was another Brookline



With Edward Kennedy and Jackie Onassis building consensus to forge an economic agenda

native, John Fitzgerald Kennedy. But even as an undergraduate at Swarthmore College, west of Philadelphia, Dukakis knew he wanted to be a governor. By that time he was already exploring the campus for a local Democratic caucus candidate attacking party corruption. When he moved on to Harvard Law School, he took his reformer impulses with him, helping to found a group of young activists who set out to cost the corrupt Irish elite who then ruled Massachusetts Democratic politics. Even before he had graduated with honors, Dukakis had been elected on the reform slate that took over Brookline's Democratic town committee.

**Leader:** From there, juggling his law practice, Dukakis worked his way up the political ladder, to become a member of the state legislature. While others of his generation were traveling against the Vietnam War and for civil rights, Dukakis was working an urban transit and no-fault auto insurance bills. In 1974, after building coalitions and collecting political votes, he secured his dream of becoming governor. But few laws have that dream in nature as he lost the nomination for the Democratic party for a second term.

He had turned around the state's \$625-million budget deficit. But in the process, he had broken an election

promise not to raise taxes and alienated the state's major interest groups.

In fact, Dukakis never acknowledged that the voters punished him in part for his arrogance. But he credits the trauma of rejection with helping to shape him for his present role. "It was one of the most



With Edward Kennedy and Jackie Onassis building consensus to forge an economic agenda

guided things that ever happened to me," he told *Newsweek*. "But when you get beaten—if you don't blame somebody else—you sit down and think long and hard about what happened. There is no question that I am a much better person."

**Skills:** Retreating to Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government, where he taught a course in public management, Dukakis developed two skills. Taking a job as moderator of a public television forum called *The Advocates*, he honed his television talents. But more important, he learned to listen. And he developed that talent into such an art form that one night three years ago—during a party at then-Canadian consul-general Barry Danson's house in Boston—he was found in the kitchen, talking in his fluent Spanish with the family's Mexican maid, Maria, asking how she thought Massachusetts ought to be run.

When Dukakis was voted back into the governor's office in 1983—once more inheriting a record state deficit—he brought his new style of consensus-building with him. And his determination to forge partnerships with interest groups accounts for much of the subsequent success of his so-called economic miracle. Few developments illustrate that more clearly than his health care bill—the first of any state in the na-

tion—requiring employers with more than six workers to provide health insurance for their employees. Other citizens can draw on a special state fund.

By the time it was passed last month, Dukakis had won over his chief opponents in the medical and insurance establishment by agreeing to address their concerns. He already bringing that kind of approach to his preparations for the White House.

**Realist:** But it is an economic matter that he may represent a radical new departure in American politics. Thomas Amoroso, former principal secretary to Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, met Dukakis at a series of meetings last fall, policy findings that the governor wanted while Amoroso was executive of Harvard's Centre for International Affairs in 1986. He was struck by the way that Dukakis was wrestling with some of the dilemmas of old-style liberalism. Said Amoroso: "There aren't all that many American politicians who worry about how to get kind members off welfare. But he wanted new ways of approaching old problems. I came away thinking he was a real visionary."

In fact, Dukakis's success in Massachusetts in forging a public and private partnership to develop a new health and health-care—modifying the concepts of welfare and good corporate citizenship—a blueprint that has defied traditional political definitions. He has shown himself to be both a free-spirited social liberal and a social conservative, as the process moves beyond both labels. And some analysts now predict that by refining new definitions, Dukakis is capable of attracting many disaffected Middle American voters who once abandoned the Democrats to vote against him. Among them is Thomas Peters, the best-selling business author who wrote *The Book of Endorence*. Peters showed up at Dukakis's Boston campaign headquarters last week to volunteer his services. "I am one of those people who used to believe in old liberalism as well as the mindless optimism of Reagan," said Peters. "With his emphasis on pragmatism and entrepreneurship, Dukakis represents a way to come back to the Democratic party." Indeed, if Dukakis should win the election on Nov. 8, the white-collar technocrats who are now in style may welcome his efforts by sparking a revolutionary redefinition of American political life.

—BARB MCGRATH in Boston



# THE CANDIDATE AND CANADA



It was a small, but possibly prophetic indicator of future Canadian-American relations. The 30 governors of the United States were meeting in Boise, Idaho, with seven Canadian premiers as their guests. But as the 1996 meeting progressed, the Canadians were clearly growing uneasy when the governors launched a bitter verbal attack against another foreign guest—the Japanese ambassador to Washington—over his country's trade policies. Then, during a conference break, one of the governors approached then-New Brunswick premier Richard Hatfield for a long, a long time acquaintance, with words of assurance. "He said, 'You going to make sure that doesn't happen to you,'" Hatfield recalled last week. "And when our turn came to speak, he basically asked what I would call sweetheart queens of all the governors, he was the one who seemed to be the most favorably disposed toward us." The friendly American governor was Michael Dukakis of Massachusetts, who is currently running 18 points ahead of George Bush, his Republican rival for the presidency, in public opinion polls.

If Dukakis maintains that lead and wins the November election, Canadians may have the most sympathetic incumbent in history in the White House. Dukakis has taken a leading role as much as on Ottawa's agenda—urging strict federal emission controls to reduce acid rain and negotiating in favor of the Canadian-U.S. free trade agreement. And as a member of the New England Governors' Association, he has met during each of his eight years in office with his Quebec and Maritime counterparts for a three-day annual conference in alternating sides of the border. Unlike

many of his fellow governors, Dukakis never skipped a meeting. Said Hatfield: "Dukakis has a better appreciation of Canada than any American politician I know." Agreed New Scotia premier John Buchanan: "He understands our problems."

**Friends.** Those gatherings between the New England governors and the Canadian premiers—which Dukakis has called "one of the best things I think I do as governor"—have forged lasting friendships across the border. Dukakis knows the premiers by their first names, and to the former Quebec premier, René Lévesque, who died last year, he once showed the ultimate sign of affection. When the chain-smoking Lévesque tumbled up in his State House office in Boston—where not even the governor's wife, Kitty, dares smoke a cigarette—the militantly nonsmoking Dukakis personally went to find an ashtray for him.

But most important of all, the annual get-togethers have given Dukakis a firmer grasp on Canadian concerns than most Canadians have themselves. In an interview last week with *Maclean's*, he could quote statistics on Canadian energy consumption and health care costs with perfect recall. That expertise stood in marked contrast to Senator Bessas's performance during a *Maclean's* interview three years ago, when the president had to be briefed by an aide for 30 minutes beforehand.

**Groups.** Thomas Aworh, former principal secretary to Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, who met Dukakis while teaching at Harvard's Centre for International Affairs three years ago, says he is deeply impressed by the governor's grasp of Canadian issues. Said Aworh last week: "He has dealt with all these issues, from energy and the environment to fishing. He understands the Canadian moorings

For Canada. [His election] would not be better. You don't want to spend most of your meeting with the President discussing him about your region."

As governor, Dukakis has been a leading critic of Boston's slow progress on acid rain. Said Dukakis: "I think it's really one of the subjects that seems from more than neighborliness. As he pointed out, 'I have more and it is the rain falling on my state than any other state in the country.' And he pressed that, if I don't do it, he would set a national goal of cutting sulphur dioxide emissions by 12 million tons a year over a 10-year period—the sort of bogus target that the Reagan administration has avoided setting. As well, Dukakis noted that Massachusetts has reduced sulphate emissions from two of its major power plants by converting them from oil to coal and adding costly smokestack scrubbers. "We've got to pay a little more for our electricity," he said. "But what are you talking about? A half a cent a kilowatt-hour more?" The technology exists to clean that up and if it means we have to pay a little more, we should do it."

**Issues.** Most Canadian politicians who know the governor appear confident that he would honor his undertakings on acid rain if elected to the White House. Said Quebec Environment Minister Clifford Laroche, who meets regularly with Dukakis: "He always struck me as a doer, an achiever. I think on the environment he would be the very best person for us."

On the Canadian-U.S. free trade agreement, Dukakis says that he believes the U.S. Senate will ratify the accord, "but that on the Canadian side there will be major political problems." Added Dukakis: "I guess that it is going to be a nasty fight." But he said that Dukakis did not have endorsed a dispute-settling mechanism, as Canadian officials demanded. "If you approve an agreement and then you go to arbitration every time something has a problem, then it is going to be very difficult," he said. *Maclean's*'s Hatfield recalls that, despite cross-border disputes on potatoes and fishing



Smokestacks that cause acid rain. Hatfield: a pledge to take quick action to improve the deteriorating environment

on the disputed Georges Bank, Dukakis consistently tried to avoid confrontation. Said Hatfield: "He was more interested in good relations between the two countries than in fighting specific issues. He knows you cannot get anywhere beating your chest on the table, you've got to work things out."

**Quebec.** Canadians who have spent time with Dukakis have been struck by his passionate interest in issues such as Quebec's separatist movement. And Dukakis deluged Aworh and others with questions about Canada's health care system. Recalled Aworh: "There was obviously a glom in his eye. I was not surprised that two years later he brought out a (Massachusetts) health care bill." Dukakis insists that the legislation—passed only last month and falling far short of Canadian universal coverage—is modelled on a bill proposed by Massachusetts Senator Edward Kennedy. But, he added, "The fact that you have had a functioning and well-regarded health care system that provides coverage for all Canadians was an inspiration."

Through a web of personal ties, both

Kitty and Michael Dukakis also have a genuine affection for Canada. On a campaign plane two years ago, Kitty sought out a *Maclean's* reporter to interview her at her girlfriend's summer spot at Notre Dame du Portage, Quebec. Then, she first learned to drive a horse—said, she said, developed their interest for smoking dips in the Fridge St. Lawrence River. Years later when, as the governor's wife, she became involved in the campaign to clean up Boston's polluted harbor, she made a trip to Montreal to study what then-gov. Jean Bérubé had done. Said Clifford Laroche: "She is very close to the way Canadians and Quebecers feel."

The governor also forged a friendship with Barney Danson, the Canadian consul general in Boston from 1984 to 1986, and his wife, Ingrid. The two complemented frequently at each other's homes. Danson once invited the Dukakis to Toronto for a baseball game where the Blue Jays were pitted against the Boston Red Sox. Danson's son Timothy, now a Toronto lawyer, remembers that Dukakis did his best to restrain his enthusiasm when the Red Sox surged to

victory. Recalled Danson: "You could see he was trying very hard to be diplomatic."

**Dukakis.** On another occasion, the Danson introduced Dukakis to one of their visiting house guests, Pierre Trudeau. They watched an animation on the two cerebral leaders engaged each other in animated debate. Indeed, Aworh regards Dukakis as the only politician he knows who could equal Trudeau in both rational and group of public policy, although he says he lacks Trudeau's "intensity." It is an assessment with which Kitty Dukakis seems to agree. Said the governor's wife: "Trudeau is one of the most charismatic men I've ever met."

Sell, some observers caution that Dukakis's affection for and expertise about his neighbors to the north could also make him a formidable opponent. Said Hatfield: "If he becomes president, Canada will have to take him very seriously because he cannot be fooled. We would have a friend in the White House, but not a sucker."

—MARK MONROE in Boston



The start-slaves governor pushing policies that get results in a state where knowledge is the major resource

## THE MASSACHUSETTS MIRACLE



Times were grim in the early 1960s for Taunton, Mass., as they were for many of the old industrial towns of the northern United States. For over a century, Taunton (population 45,000, 60 km south of Boston, had been the center of the U.S. wireware industry. But when foreign competition closed four of the six remaining wire works early in the decade, unemployment soared to about 14 per cent. And by 1982 things were so bad that Richard Johnson, a former city housing official, was swept into office as mayor because, he recalls, "nobody wanted the job."

Now the picture is very different. With 60 new plants opened in the past six years in a local industrial park, Taunton's unemployment has dropped to four per cent, in spite of a population increase of about 5,000. And although Johnson opposed Gov. Michael Dukakis's re-election last fall, in 1986, he now credits the governor for much of that impressive turnaround. Said John-

son last week, "Dukakis made me a believer. He has no bigger supporter in the state now than me."

Throughout much of Massachusetts, economic conditions like Taunton's can be found. Under Dukakis, the once-depressed state is now seen by some Americans as a national model for economic growth and reform of social programs. Dukakis, the social liberal who produced balanced budgets even before state law made them mandatory, has made the so-called Massachusetts miracle the centerpiece of his presidential bid.

**Credit:** While many of the factors that produced the comeback were clearly beyond his control, even some of his critics concede that much of the credit must go to Dukakis. Said Richard Marley, president of the conservative Massachusetts Taxpayers' Foundation Inc., a Boston-based think-tank: "He cannot take credit for MIT [the Massachusetts Institute of Technology] and Harvard being across the river in Cambridge. He probably cannot take credit for the de-

fense industry being here. But he has done some good things that I have not seen anybody else doing."

Massachusetts state with few natural advantages. Its energy costs are among the highest in the United States. Land transportation to the rest of the country is difficult and expensive. But the Boston area alone boasts 65 colleges and universities, an obvious asset in the information age. In a study published this year, David B. Lerner, assistant director of the semi-industrial Liaison Program, concluded that "knowledge has become Massachusetts' most precious resource."

Two factors have made that resource more valuable in this decade. Even before the Second World War, professors and students from MIT and other technical schools had gone on to establish defense manufacturing companies, including the giant Raytheon Co. That growth exploded in the postwar era as electronics became an integral part of weaponry, and the United States as-

pired on its space program. However, the winding down of space exploration and the Vietnam War in the late 1960s and early 1970s hit the industry hard. But it enjoyed a comeback when Ronald Reagan came to power in 1981 and began the largest peacetime military buildup in U.S. history, in which Massachusetts received a proportionately greater share of defense contracts than any other state. At the same time, another branch of the state's university-linked electronics industry was starting to boom: The introduction of personal computers in office work had created an enormous demand for an entirely new range of high-technology goods. The Cambridge-based Lotus Development Corp., a major software company, drew upon graduates from the surrounding universities when it was established in 1982. Now the world's largest independent producer of programs and to track accounts, the company boasted sales of \$500 million last year.

**Startups:** Although experts do not give Dukakis credit for the electronics boom, he did aid the start-up of some of the new computer companies by easing access to financing and through some joint ventures. At the same time, he introduced numerous social programs to help Massachusetts workers adapt to the economic changes. According to Johnson,

Taunton offers evidence of the success of his policies. At the start of his second term in 1983 Dukakis gave special attention to neglected communities such as Taunton, to which—with key state officials assisting him—he paid several visits to assess the city's needs. Said Johnson: "It wasn't like anything we were used to. The first time we came here with his own plan. He came to give us the tools we needed to make things happen."

**Local:** The result was a combination of programs. Gov. Dukakis has been slow to allow the town to reduce land prices at its industrial park, joint ventures between the state and private corporations to start new projects, and grants to the

city to improve its roads and services. Taunton also gained from a number of statewide social programs that Dukakis is now promoting as models for the entire country. The Industrial Services Program brings together the state's smaller educational institutions with private companies to retrain laid-off workers such as Taunton's silverware makers. Last year the plan retrained 11,000 laid-off employees, about three-quarters of whom found new jobs paying at least 32 per cent of their previous wages. Similarly dramatic has been a Dukakis plan to offer skills training to welfare recipients. Dubbed IF (for education and training) Choices, the program pays welfare recipients, transportation and child care costs while they return to school.

**Welfare:** In the past four years the program has cut welfare costs by about \$184 million by going from full-time employment to 73 per cent of its 45,000 participants. But Verena Azeite, an economist and welfare specialist at the University of Massachusetts, says that the plan is not necessarily the answer for welfare problems in other regions. Said Azeite: "They are probably the nation's best training and employment programs for welfare recipients. But they also have the danger of a labor shortage in Massachusetts. It would not work in West Virginia, for example, because the jobs won't be there at the end of the training period."

Regardless of who gets the credit, unemployment statewide has dropped to about three per cent currently from 11.2 per cent in 1975. David Birk, an MIT economist and president of a private marketing firm, notes that Dukakis was

helped by relatively fast population growth in the state. Still, he estimates that the governor's policies have helped 100,000 people to find new jobs. Said Birk: "He deserves a tremendous amount of credit for that."

**Outcomes:** In the political battles of conservatives and many businessmen, Dukakis has also expanded the reach of government while contributing to the state's economic growth. Recently, the state initiated a new state health care plan that is far ahead of anything else in the United States. And while the number of welfare recipients is down, the state recently increased payments by eight per cent to help the poor cope with a cost of living explosion—such as the 70 per cent increase in gasoline. Housing costs—that has accompanied economic expansion.

Dukakis now faces what may be a treacherous reverse of the state's current budget. After years of double-digit growth in revenues, the state is experiencing a \$400-million shortfall. In the past, budget problems have proved critical for Dukakis. When he first entered office in 1975 he wiped out the state's \$225-million deficit through a massive increase in personal income taxes. Three years later the Democrats replaced him with another candidate for governor, and Dukakis spent the next four years lettering at Harvard until he swept back into office in 1983.

**Focus:** Last week the state legislature wrestled with various plans to deal with the budget, which must by law be balanced. Many observers say that Dukakis should emerge relatively unharmed by a combination of minor



—LAN AUSTEN in Boston

# THE TREND-SETTING STATE



Trendy Californians have traditionally claimed that what they do today—the sort of America they treasure in the past, such as West Coast cruises as surfing, low-rise and hot tubs have spread to the rest of the large. So have more serious trends. Now, as the state prepares for its June 7 presidential primaries, public-opinion poll results indicate that the voters of the Golden State may be signaling the end of America's infatuation with Ronald Reagan-style Republicanism and preparing to reject his heir apparent, Vice-President George Bush.

Although Bush's association with the President helped him secure the Republican nomination this year, he is close to joining a prize for his links with the White House. The Democratic front-runner, Michael Dukakis, has established a formidable lead over Bush in California and, if survey results hold, he could easily carry the state in the November presidential election.

Surveys in fact, the polls show that as California goes, so goes the country. A *Los Angeles Times* survey released on May 18 showed Dukakis leading Bush 53 per cent to 36 per cent in California. A nationwide *Washington Post/ABC News* poll published last Friday produced remarkably similar results—with Dukakis leading Bush 50 per cent to 40 per cent. No Democratic presidential candidate has earned California more Lyndon Johnson in 1964. As a result, the poll figures have given a special boost to the Dukakis team—particularly because Reagan was governor of the state from 1967 to 1975. Still, with five months remaining until election day on Nov. 3, analysts are treating the early surveys with caution. "The Democrats always do really well in early polling but don't do as well on voting day," said

Daniel Walters, author of *The New California: Facing the Twenty-First Century*, a study of social and economic trends. "When it comes down to the nitty-gritty, California is a wildly Republican state."

But the polls clearly are a concern to Republicans. Bush's aides have said privately that the vice-president is having

trouble in a state evidently clobbered with crime, murderous street gangs and an ever-increasing drug problem.

Bush's relative weakness in the polls may also reflect the fact that, because Bush has no opponent for the nomination, he has done very little grassroots campaigning in California. But for Dukakis, the primary is still important. His sole remaining opponent, Jesse Jackson, is fighting hard to establish his role as the leader of the liberal wing of the Democratic party. And the state's black voters, who make up 10 per cent of all eligible Democratic voters in next week's contest—are being solidly behind him, led by prominent Hollywood blacks such as Bill Cosby and Leo Gussack Jr.

However, but the California vote will remain unpredictable. With barely 40 per cent of eligible voters having put to the polls in the 1988 state and congressional midterm elections, California's participation in the nation's political process is far from ideal.

As well, polls taken at voting stations in that year's congressional elections showed that 85 per cent of voters were white in a state in which about one-quarter of the population is Hispanic. Moreover, the number of voters who identify themselves as Democrats has fallen markedly over the past decade. The shift is most evident in southern California, which is a conservative bastion of the married retirees and entrepreneurs and a bastion of the defense industry.

But California is also a land of immigrants, and if Dukakis succeeds in capturing the attention of that constituency, their needs—for education, day care and more social services—could outweigh the conservative vote. And if that should happen in California, it would signal clearly the end of the Reagan era.

—ANN FRYLAWSON with  
AP/WIDE WORLD in Los Angeles



Los Angeles drug arrests concerns over crime, drugs and gangs

difficulty focusing voter attention on the central message of his campaign. But Dukakis's inexperience in foreign affairs and his liberal economic views could lead to a return of what many see as the failures of the Jimmy Carter presidency. That message, analysts say, may seem



Dukakis with supporter, Sally Foster, end of the election

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# IVY LEAGUE CAMPAIGNERS



**CAMPAIGNER** In downtown Boston, blue-suited businessmen hurry furiously out of the picturesque movie houses that line a stretch of prime real estate known as the Corahat House. But only one way, in a sleek new office tower on Channing Street, 200 fresh-faced university graduates stream through four doors

trick brought impressive credentials to the job. In 1980, at 27, she was already deputy national union director in Senator Edward Kennedy's unsuccessful presidential campaign. And during the 1984 race she served as executive director of the Democratic national platform committee. Later, as a senior policy adviser to Democratic senator White Mondaie, Estrich met speech writer Martin Ka-

tronian 11 years before. Estrich has shown a similar tough-mindedness and willingness to gamble in her handling of the Dukakis campaign. Two weeks before the 26-state March primary known as "Super Tuesday," she defied conventional wisdom and decided not to spend \$2 million unexpectedly available from a television fund-raising blitz. Now, campaign treasurer Robert Farnes says that decision helped put Dukakis ahead of 17 competitors ahead of his Democratic rival, Studs Terkel. "The others were broke, and we had \$2 million in the bank. It made a big difference. The money has been like a safety net."

**Franchisees** In fact, some observers see Farnes, a 45-year-old retired Boston publishing millionaire, as the backbone of the campaign. He has raised \$20 million, which—with nearly \$8 million in federal matching grants—has given Dukakis the biggest war chest of any Democratic presidential candidate in history. Farnes calls his formula a franchise operation. He has selected 1,000 influential Democrats and sympathetic Greek Americans across the country to exploit their personal connections and raise at least \$50,000 each.

The funding has paid for one of the largest and most academically qualified staffs of any of the presidential campaigns. Indeed, so many of the Dukakis team are past or present Harvard faculty members that they have become widely known as "the Harvard mafia." But none is

as close to Dukakis as Paul Brozman, 36, his best friend from Harvard Law School. The mid-career Boston lawyer, who functions as campaign chairman, is quietly helping to minimize possible vice-presidential running mates now, to avoid potentially embarrassing last-minute surprises during the July party convention in Atlanta. Still, most observers agree that no matter how closely Dukakis listens to his old friend and a handful of other trusted advisers, only one person ultimately calls the shots in his campaign—the candidate himself.

—MARC MC DONALD in Boston



Estrich: "There are no problems, only opportunities."

**Blame:** In fact, a crisis led to Estrich's appointment as the first woman ever to manage a presidential campaign. Last September, after Delaware Senator Joseph Biden (dropped out of the presidential race amid charges of plagiarism), Dukakis's close friend and campaign manager, John Sasso, admitted that he was to blame. After confessing that he had given reporters videotapes showing that Biden had stolen key parts of campaign speeches from other politicians, he resigned. Estrich, Sasso's longtime friend and deputy, stepped into the breach—at first with a warning: "I'm very tough on a personal level," she recalled. "It is hard to see a friend go through that."

But Estrich soon took charge and played a major part in preparing the official message that last August Dukakis 13 points ahead of Vice-President George Bush in national opinion polls. "We wanted a very strong, positive tone," she told *Newsweek*. "We are pretty confident now." And in a clear reference to Bush's problems over Reagan administration scandals, she added: "Mike Dukakis has a record to run on, not to run away from."

Besides her tough self-confidence, Es-

## At Last, Full-Flavour Lights!



# LIGHTS

## Seeking a 'new face' for socialism

While Red Army bandmen rehearsed two national anthems, protocol officers hastily rescheduled seats to accommodate a last-minute change in Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's timetable. As the fourth Helsinki Reagan-Gorbachev summit meeting approached, officials in Moscow were preoccupied with ensuring that the revised summit schedule for the Soviet Union, a more gripping drama was unfolding on the domestic stage. In Moscow, the usually docile Soviet parliament defied the government and demanded reforms in a new law on income from private business. Then, calling for a "new face for socialism," the Communist party's Central Committee proposed democratic reforms curtailing the powers of the party.

As President Reagan delivered a presidential speech in Helsinki denouncing stronger Soviet action to safeguard human rights, Moscowites lined up at the newsstands to read about the new political reforms at home. It was clear that, for them at least, this week's summit would be overshadowed by the latest developments in Gorbachev's three-year-old drive to reshape Soviet society. Since taking power in 1985 Gorbachev's performances on the international stage have won him generally high marks at home and abroad. And his loosening of Soviet foreign policy was strengthened in the days leading up to the Moscow summit by the first withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan as well as last week's announcement that Vietnam, a Soviet-aided ally, would pull 50,000 of its soldiers out of neighboring Kampuchea.

Despite those successes, Gorbachev's domestic program has been skeptically received by many Soviet citizens. Intellectuals and the media have welcomed the relative freedom of political discussion, but the new openness has also exposed many bureaucratic inefficiencies. For many working-class Soviets, meanwhile, the prospect of a more free-wheeling economy has created insecurity, while perestroika—or restructuring—has so far done little to ease shortages of housing or reduce the losses for consumer goods. A poll by Soviet researchers and two American news organizations showed that half of the Moscowites surveyed said that they had seen no tangible benefits from Gorbachev's reforms.

Faced with mounting doubts about

reform, Gorbachev badly needs support at the impending extraordinary special congress of the Soviet Communist party, the first since Josef Stalin convened one in 1945. The congress will give 5,000 rank-and-file party members an opportunity to vote on reform. Gorbachev says that he wants the conference to approve new rules limiting the terms of party office holders, a change that political analysts said would allow him to purge the party of opponents to perestroika. But the generally pro-Soviet Soviet media have recently reported

known as "socialists" limit the tenure of party and government officials to 10 years and restructure the judicial system to increase the independence of judges. Declared the revolution. "The path to a brand-new style of Soviet society and a new face for socialism lies in revolutionary restructuring and democratization." Although he did not obtain all the changes he wanted—including one requiring party officials to retire at 70—the development did represent a victory for Gorbachev.



Lipachev (left) and a colleague at Supreme Soviet meeting; reform

on numerous instances of opponents of reform leading delegate-selection rules in order to pack the conference with hard-line conservatives believed to be led by the Kremlin's number 2 leader, Yegor Ligachev. And when one activist reformer was asked to predict the vote's outcome, he smiled and said, "It is not clear who will win."

The Central Committee's decision last week gave Gorbachev significant support. Last Monday it voted to approve a draft reform resolution to be put to delegates at the special conference, which begins in Moscow on June 28. While maintaining the party's position as the principal source of authority, the reforms would give more power to elected legislatures,

Other events also demonstrated support for reform in the Supreme Soviet, the nominal parliament that usually rubber-stamps party proposals. Legislators challenged details of a law expanding the rights of co-operatives. In its original form, the law had imposed taxes of up to 90 percent on income earned from co-operatives—a measure intended to make it clear to hard-line socialists that no one would get rich from the experiment with free enterprise. But legislators amended the law to allow local governments to grant tax breaks to co-operatives that provide badly needed goods or services. On the same day, several prominent advocates of reform called publicly for a

new political grouping, independent of the Communist party, to press the case for perestroika. And many opponents of reform were watching Gorbachev's summit performance closely. Said one senior Soviet official: "Anything like a failure at the summit will play into the hands of the opponents of reform." In fact, the summit seemed certain to be judged more on style than on substance.

At their last meeting in Washington last December, Gorbachev and Reagan articulated a treaty to dismantle medium-range nuclear arms.

But negotiators have so far failed to agree on a follow-up pact limiting strategic weapons. Instead, Reagan has made it clear that he intends to threaten Soviet human rights abuses to the top of his secret agenda. During his first full day in Moscow on Monday the President planned to meet leading Soviet dissidents and reformers, Soviet Jews who have been denied permission to emigrate. And Western diplomats said that if Reagan is seen to press the issue too far, it could sour the summit for his Soviet counterpart. Noted author Anatoly Rybakov: "Any perceived sign of weakness to any part of officials from Reagan will be used by Gorbachev's enemies." Gorbachev's critics can already point

to the limited results achieved by the reforms he has attempted so far. Those measures, planned in 1986, range from halting the production of vodka to an attempt to reduce alcoholism by serving notice that those actions of the country's 18 million bureaucrats will lose their jobs by 1990. Since Jan. 1 most large factories and collective farms have

have no experience with marketing. Gorbachev has insisted that dramatic measures are needed to remove the Soviet economy. But reforms has provided no sentiment will beyond the substantial needs of Soviet drinkers. Predicted American Kremlin-watcher Frederick Starr, president of Ohio's Oberlin College: "If enhanced bureaucracies large size with changed labor reform will face formidable opposition."

Last week's poll, conducted for The New York Times and for News by Moscow's Institute of Sociological Research, found strong support for the reformist stance. Some respondents said that they would like to see greater tolerance for public demonstrations and competitive elections. But many were skeptical that the reforms would succeed. Only a very slight majority said that democracy could evolve from the country's one-party system. And only 40 percent said that they expected these standards of living to improve in the next five years.



Gorbachev's gripping drama unfolding on the domestic stage.

Last week's events seemed to demonstrate that Gorbachev's drive for reform still had strong momentum. But so the forces for and against reform have their way toward the critical party vote, Gorbachev will clearly need all the help his supporters can provide. At the same time, he could lose that over an effort a majority on the international

summit stage.

—CHRIS WOOD—via CATHERINE REDDEN in Moscow

## Sour notes for the summit

On the way to Moscow for his fourth summit meeting with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, President Ronald Reagan stopped in Helsinki last week for three days of rest. The detour followed a pattern established by the 73-year-old Reagan, who visited Hawaii and Salt Lake before the 1982 economic summit in Tokyo and last year visited at a summit villa in Italy before the Venice economic summit. "The all started after he'd called on the Pope," said a White House aide, referring to a Vatican meeting in 1983 when Reagan called off during a papal speech that before the summit the oldest president in US history appeared rested. In a Helsinki speech on Friday he urged the Soviet Union

to release political prisoners, allow free emigration and foster religious toleration.

Reagan spoke at Helsinki's Finlandia Hall, site of the 1955 Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, when the Soviet Union and 34 other nations signed the Helsinki Final Act on human rights. "Thirteen years after the Final Act was signed," said Reagan, "it is difficult to understand why cases of denied emigration and blocked marriages should remain on the East-West agenda or why Soviet citizens who wish to emigrate should be subject to arbitrary quotas and arbitrary rulings."

Then, in a Soviet television interview recorded for broadcast on Saturday, Reagan called on his hosts for

"more openness and the allowing of people to practice religion in the way they choose." His remarks fueled controversy in Moscow where, on the day before the Helsinki speech, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Yury Fyodorov, spokesman of Moscow's tribulation, with Reagan's intention to stress human rights issues at the summit. Patrotsky organized a planned meeting between Reagan and Soviet dissidents as an unrelenting breach of superpower protocol. And following Reagan's speech, Soviet officials said that it could sour the tone of the summit. Declared one official, who wished the address live on a US television relay at the summit press centre: "If that is an example of what we can expect next week, it could cause a lot of problems."

—ANNEKE BRUNKE with correspondents reports

## 'They are starting a revolution'

As he left the modern grey Trade Union Centre in Budapest, where the Hungarian Communist Party was holding a four-hourly special meeting, the official looked tired. "I have never seen anything like it," he said. "They are starting a whole revolution in there, a revolution of ideas." Two hours later party officials made a dramatic announcement. Károly Kádár, 55, the country's leader for nearly 20 years, had been removed as party general secretary and replaced by a younger man, the reform-minded Károly Grósz, 51.

The appointment—coupled with a sweeping purge of the party hierarchy—immediately raised general expectations that the new leadership would loosen political and economic controls. On the streets of the capital, the action began known as "Day 1 of the new Hungary." But Grósz commented, "Thirty years of accumulated inertia cannot be discarded overnight."

The party veteran, who was appointed prime minister by Kádár last June, will retain that post, as well as holding the general secretary's position. And few Hungarians seemed to doubt his commitment to reform. Although he has a reputation as a strict party loyalist, Grósz has repeatedly called for giving freer rein to market forces and loosening central controls in order to revitalize the country's stagnant economy. During a visit to London in early May he called British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, Europe's leading free enterprise crusader, a "woman of vision." And Grósz has a powerful admirer of his own, Mikhail Gorbachev. The Soviet leader, who has urged Eastern Bloc allies to initiate Moscow's reformist economic policies, sent warm congratulations to the new Hungarian leader.

Described by Western diplomats as reformist and pragmatic, Grósz faces a major challenge in introducing reforms. Under Kádár, installed by Moscow after Soviet troops crushed a violent uprising in 1956, Hungary gradually became the most liberal state in Eastern Europe. Creditied with creating so-called goulash communism, Kádár allowed small private enterprises to compete with state industries and permitted a measure of political expression. But

critics say that Kádár began losing his enthusiasm for reform in the 1970s. Due to what noted economist Tibor Peukotos calls "policy ignorance and mismanagement," the nation of 10.5 million is now burdened with 55-per-cent inflation and the highest foreign debt per capita in the Eastern Bloc. In a frank policy statement released last week, party leaders ac-

cused the Politburo were two leading reformers economist Bessó Nyers, 60, the main architect of Hungary's socialist reforms in the 1960s, and László Pongrácz, 55, an outspoken advocate of greater political pluralism.

Unlike Nyers and Pongrácz, Grósz is a recent convert to reformist thinking. Throughout a career spent almost ex-



Grósz (left) with Kádár at a special party conference: a sweeping purge of the hierarchy

knowledgeed that the "public mood has deteriorated, confidence in the party and its leaders has declined."

Western diplomats say that Kádár appointed Grósz as prime minister last June in the expectation that by imposing harsh economic austerity measures, the prime minister would make himself unpopular. The measures—including a new personal income tax unique in the Communist world—clearly caused public resentment. But Grósz's unorthodox style earned him allies in the party leadership. When the vote—which is kept secret—took place last week, Grósz evidently had a majority. The 900 delegates to the special conference also took away Kádár's seat on the party's ruling body, the Politburo. In an apparent attempt to spare him disgrace, he was appointed to the newly created figurehead post of party president.

Many of Kádár's closest allies fell with him. In addition to the general secretary, seven members of the 12-member Politburo lost their jobs. About one-third of the members on the 100-seat Central Committee were also purged. Among the new appoint-

ments as a Communist harsenment, he suffered closely to the party line. Ambitious and efficient, he rose from editor of a regional party newspaper to chief of the Central Committee's agitation and propaganda department, supervising most of the Hungarian media. He was named to the Politburo in 1982.

Grósz now appears to be adaptable and indecisive. Since the winds of reform began to blow from Moscow, he has become increasingly committed to change. Among other things, he is expected to cut subsidies to failing state industries. After his appointment, Grósz acknowledged that his economic policies would not work without accompanying political reforms. "If the party is paralyzed," he said just before his appointment, "all society is paralyzed." Like Gorbachev, Grósz will have to balance the benefits of economic reform against the risks of political change—change that could someday deliver him the same fate as Kádár.

—MARTIN GIER with  
JOHN HOLLAND in Budapest

## Canada's New National Aviation Museum Takes Off



Aviation National Aviation Museum Inc. 1000  
Museum Boulevard, Ottawa, Ontario K1P 6P6  
Telephone: (613) 944-1111  
Fax: (613) 944-1111

## THE POWER OF IMAGINATION



### An interview with Robert W. Bradford, Associate Director of the National Aviation Museum.

**O**n the Westside Robert Bradford's office brings an immense ripple of emotion as he describes the design of the first Canadian flight of a helicopter as machine, the Silver Dart in Rossport, Nova Scotia, on February 23, 1909.

Robert Bradford has devoted his life to aviation. Born on December 17, 1923, nearly 20 years after the world's first sustained controlled flight by the Wright brothers, Bradford was a Royal Canadian Air Force pilot during World War II and then, for 17 years, an aircraft designer in the aviation industry. Since 1967, he has directed Canada's national aeronautical collection.

As an artist, Bradford specializes in bring-

ing the opening of the new National Aviation Museum at Pearson International Airport in Ottawa on June 18, 1988, will mark a major step forward in Canada's recognition of an essential dimension of its history.

Aviation has profoundly influenced the lives of Canadians and holds a special place in their hearts. Since Canada's began the world's first commercial push flying operations shortly after World War I, aircraft have played an active role in opening up the vast, rugged and sparsely populated land. Perhaps no other nation on earth has relied as heavily as Canada on aviation, and Canadians have made pioneering contributions to aviation that are out of all proportion to this country's population.

Through the extraordinary efforts of dedicated individuals, Canada has one of the finest aeronautical collections in the world. But the collection has long waited for a place to call home. The plane hangars that date back to the early years of World War II are now waiting for the new Museum. Canadians can look forward to view this collection in suitable surroundings and appreciate the importance of aviation to their history.

This special section is published to celebrate Canadian aviation and the opening of the new National Aviation Museum, which is dedicated to the many brave Canadians who, from the early years of this century in peace and war, have built this country's aviation experience. In so doing, they have helped build a nation.

ing memories, some from Canadian aviation history to life. But his personal legacy to Canadian aviation is undoubtedly his leadership in building Canada's aeronautical collection and in providing it with a suitable home. In the following interview, Bradford gives his view of the significance of Canada's new National Aviation Museum.

**Q:** Canadians have invested \$18.4 million in a new building for the National Aviation Museum. Why is it important that we preserve historical aircraft and provide Canadians with an opportunity to view them?

**A:** The primary reason is the universal appeal of flight and of war. The ability to move about the world in the three-dimensional envelope of air has fascinated our species since an ancient human dream. The development of flying machines during this century realized this dream and gave people a new-found sense of freedom and adventure.

An aeronautical museum is particularly important to Canadians. We recognize the achievements involved in building the transcontinental airways in the late 19th century and their importance in tying this country together. But while the airways joined major sources of power, most of Canada remained accessible only by dog sled and canoe. Unfortunately most Canadians know little about how airplanes—our flying canoes, and flying dog sleds—opened up our vast northern territories. Now are they aware of the key role Canadians' pilots, mechanics, designers, and in aircraft industry have played in the development of world aviation?

Recognizing this proud history and making Canadians aware of it is the Museum's mission. Ultimately the Museum is a legacy for future generations. We want to ignite the imaginations of young people with the knowledge they live in a country with an aviation tradition of excellence and extraordinary achievement.

**Q:** You have directed Canada's aeronautical collection since 1957. How good a collection do we have?



**A:** In comparison with other national aviation museums, Canada's collection isn't large—we have only 112 aircraft in all. However, the historical importance of the Museum is not just the excellent scale of conservation, but the size of the population collections in the world. It is one of the few collections with military and civilian aircraft representing all the key periods in aviation history and the only world class collection that highlights Canadian outstanding contributions.

The last airplane a visitor sees on entering the new Museum is a flying replica of the

Silver Dart, the aircraft that made the first powered, heavier-than-air flight in Canada. We have La Vigilante, a Curtiss P-51, that in 1941 made the world's first commercial bush flight in the St. Maurice Valley of Quebec. The airplanes Canadians built, trained in and fought in during the two world wars are strongly represented. Another collection—conduits, helicopters, and private aircraft of significance to Canada.

Many of the historic airplanes we have are very rare, and none of them are the only surviving representatives of their type. There is no way a value could be placed on this collection—it's a priceless national treasure.

**Q:** And your staff worked closely with Public Works Canada staff who created the new building. Will this building provide the best environment for the collection?

#### lection?

**A:** Also importantly, the new building provides urgently needed protection for one of the finest aeronautical collections in the world. From 1964 until the construction of this building, the collection was housed in old wooden hangars built in 1940 as part of the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan and designed to last at most a decade. Similar hangars were built across the country and as they aged, they became increasingly fire-prone. Finally during the 1970s they began burning into flame—not just burning but literally exploding. Hangars in Calgary and in Crip, Ontario, burned destroying a large number of airplanes. A fire in a similar type of building consumed the entire San Diego Aerospace Museum and its collection in a matter of minutes. In Japan is the fire

damage we had to contend with lately, occasional roof failures, and even riots.

So far more than two decades, we have lived with the nightmare that the invaluable collection might suddenly go up in flames. The collection belongs to all Canadians. I think their investment in a new building that will provide safe storage for it was wise one.

**Q:** In addition to providing safe storage for the collection, does the new building offer other features to help Canadians appreciate their aviation heritage?

**A:** Our hope was for a building that would allow us to display the aircraft in a natural hangar-like environment. We also wanted clear spans that would allow us to show aircraft as large as a Canadian Avro or a Boeing 707 in and out of the building. And

we needed a low runway and adaptable part for demonstrations and for the acquisition of foreign-collection aircraft.

The building meets our requirements perfectly. Its minimalist space-frame construction is elegant and functional. It provides a display area that does the collection justice. The building's delta-shape recalls the triangular runways used by the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan during World War II. Moreover, because it was built along the existing runway we saved the hundreds of thousands of dollars that a new terminal and taxiway would have cost. Finally we now have an airplane part, located on the Ottawa River and a live aircraft environment, is situated by the Rockcliffe Flying Club, who have been good neighbors to us.

This is only Phase I of a planned three-phase construction. Unfortunately, more

than one-third of the Phase I building is comprised of disassembled aircraft and aircraft engines and we have space to show less than half the collection. A STOL (short takeoff and landing) passenger service operated at Rockcliffe for a time during the mid-1970s and we are using the old STOL facilities for offices and the restoration shops.

The entire space of Phases II and III is essential to display the crown collection and for auxiliary services. However with the popularity we anticipate for the new Museum, I'm sure that the expansion will come in time.

**Q:** You've been responsible for the National Aviation Museum for more than two decades. What does the new Museum mean to you personally?

**A:** When we were kids, my twin brother and I spent hours haunting the old farmer's field on Dufferin Street in Toronto. We drew the airplanes, made balsa wood models and dreamed of flying. As it turned out, we both became RCAF pilots. Since then, I've spent almost my entire working life in aviation. I still feel only now when the new Museum is up and running and the windows have been honed out. For a little guy from a modest background in Toronto, I am very grateful to have been given an opportunity to do this.

It's amazing that the Canadians now have one of the best aviation museums in the world. Aviation is very special to Canadians and has touched many of our lives. At long last, we will have a chance to appreciate this important part of our history.

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## The Walkway of Time: Highlights in the History of Canadian Aviation

**A**s visitors enter the new National Aviation Museum, they are greeted by an extraordinary near life-size bronze sculpture. With the body of a man and two pairs of both wings, the creature is reaching its wings into the wind, poised for takeoff.

The Falcon was created in 1992 in the classical style of the Renaissance as a tribute to modern aviation by the renowned Canadian sculptor Augustin and physical educator Robert Lal McEwen. It is a powerful depiction of our country's age-old yearning to fly.

While The Falcon stands in the foyer representing humanity's longing to escape the bounds of earth, the aeronautical collection inside the Museum proper tells the other side of the story—the final evolution of the dream of flight in the twentieth century's development of powered heavier-than-air flying machines.

The aircraft and exhibits in the new National Aviation Museum are arranged chronologically to guide a visitor along a "Walkway of Time" that traces the history of aviation and highlights Canada's pioneering

contributions.

The visual effect of the exhibits is quite spectacular, with the original and often bogie wreckage of the aircraft standing out against the stark white and grey background of the Museum interior as they would on a snowy northern airfield or frozen lake.

The aircraft are clustered in pools of time, with each stand representing a key period. In aviation history visitors can view the entire collection from the second-floor mezzanine. On the main level they can follow aviation history step-by-step from beginnings to the present day. The journey back in time begins with the pioneer period.

### Early Flying Machines

**T**he first aircraft-wings encounter is the Silver Dart, Canada's first successful heavier-than-air machine.

The story of the Silver Dart began in 1907, when the world-famous inventor of the airplane, Dr. Alexander Graham Bell, and four pioneering young men interested in aviation formed the Aerial Experiment Association (A.E.A.). Bell had previously performed aerodynamic experiments with kites, but he was already in his 60th year past the age for experimenting abroad under a fledgling flying machine.

The young members of the A.E.A.

included Glen Curtiss, an American designer of internal combustion engines, Lieutenant Thomas Selfridge of the U.S. Army and also Canadians, John A.D. McCurdy and Herbert W. "Cursey" Baldwin, both recent engineering graduates from the University of Toronto.

The A.E.A.'s purpose was an ambitious one—no test fails. The construction of a "practical, aerodynamic or flying machine driven through the air by its own power and carrying a man." The Association operated alternately out of Hammondsport, New York, where Curtiss had a machine shop, and Berlin, Ontario, a very maritime village on Cape Breton Island.

The A.E.A. was extremely successful building and flying four airplanes in rapid succession. The last of these was the Silver Dart, designed by John McCurdy and considered one of the most advanced airplanes of its day. On February 23, 1909, McCurdy made the first airplane flight in Canada in the Silver Dart, skirting off from the top of Black-duck Bay and flying for about half a mile.

After 14 successful flights in the Silver Dart, some costing passengers as great as 20 miles, McCurdy and Baldwin attempted to raise funds for further experiments by demonstrating the airplane before Canadian military authorities at Camp Petawawa on August 2, 1909. Unfortunately, on the landing of the fourth flight of the day the Silver Dart flipped over and was crushed beyond repair.

On February 23, 1999, exactly 90 years

after the first historic flight, a replica of the Silver Dart built by the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAR) was flown by taking Commander Paul Hartman as Blackduck Bay with John McCurdy in attendance. This is the aircraft on exhibit in the Museum.

Many other Canadians tried their hand at building and flying airplanes before World War I. But the Museum's only original airplane from Canadian aviation's pioneer period—in fact, the only surviving Canadian aircraft from this period anywhere—is the McDowell Monoplane, built by Robert McDowell, a municipal engineer from Owen Sound, it completed a few "trips," but never flew successfully. Nevertheless, it remains a fascinating example of the efforts of early aviation enthusiasts.

### Flying for the Allies in WWI

**A**fter the crash at Petawawa, McCurdy, Baldwin and even Bell turned inside imperial appeals to the government in Ottawa for financial support for aviation. But to no avail. Canada went into World War I without an air service, and our main contributions were the provision of men and the manufacture of training aircraft. It was a generous and distinguished con-

tribution. Over 27,000 Canadians served with the Royal Flying Corps (RFC), the Royal Naval Air Service (RNAS) and later in the war, when these two services were amalgamated, with the Royal Air Force (RAF).

Some 1583 gave their lives, and well over half that number were dropped there with the Victoria Cross—W.A. "Billy" Bishop, Second Lieutenant A.A. McCord and Major W.D. Barker. Of seven British pilots ordered with 50 or more victories, four were Canadians, including the Empire's two leading surviving aces—Bishop with his 72 victories, and Flight Sub-Lieutenant Raymond Collishaw with 60.

Collishaw, who eventually became an Ace-As-Mortal in the RAF, led the five-member, all-Canadian, Black Flight, considered the finest allied fighting unit in the war. The Black Flight used Sopwith Triplanes, similar to the one in the Museum's collection, during a period between May and July 1917, when Black Flight is reported to have downed 87 enemy aircraft.

After the war Collishaw wrote extensively about his experiences and in one chilling passage, described World War I dog-fight tactics. "Two combatants or for continuing antagonists to meet. That is all. This involved the most hair-raising experience for fighter pilots. At a distance of about 1,000 feet both opponents would open fire. Each pilot could see his own and his opponent's tracer bullets intersecting in the cloud, but his aircraft shudder from the impact of bul-

lets, while the new missiles landed hardly upon his own. In about 3 to 10 seconds of this, the maneuvering 1,000 feet interval was covered and the confronting pilots then to dodge collision."

Spurred by the escalating demands of the war, a scheme began in January 1917 to train mechanics and technical personnel and also to produce training aircraft in Canada for the RFC. When the Avrocanair was signed on November 8, 1918, a total of 3,136 pilots had graduated and the training organization was considered the most effective in the world.

The Museum's Curtiss JN-4 "Canard" ("Canuck") is one of 1280 machines produced by Canadian Associated Ltd. of Toronto, a company established by the Imperial Munitions Board to meet the RFC and later the US Air Service's requirement for training aircraft. The "Canuck" is a modified American Curtiss JN-4, built in 1918. It is one of the other Canadian aircraft it was the first aircraft to be mass-produced in Canada and first to be exported in large quantities. It flew the first Canadian aerial in June 1918 between Montreal and Toronto and made the first aerial survey in Labrador in the summer of 1919. After the war it entered cross-country mail use, where it became the preferred airplane of barnstormers, giving many Canadians their first sight of an aircraft and their first chance to fly.

Here photograph of an early flight of the Silver Dart at Blackduck Bay, Nova Scotia, National Geographic Society





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The red Havilland Beaver, an outstanding success of Canadian postwar aviation. Illustrated in this painting by **N.W. Beaudette**, then head of DCA of Montreal.

## Canadian Aviation in the Jet Age

Immediately after the war, commercial aviation mushroomed. Some nine million passengers worldwide in 1945, the number climbed to 24 million in 1948. The widespread introduction of jet transports beginning in the late 1940s created a revolution in speed, comfort, and efficiency similar only to the development of the 1930s. Most Canadians are unaware of a short period before the postwar aviation boom. In 1939, the supersonic Avro Canada CF-105 Arrow "missile" made this country the world leader in jet fighter aircraft. Few Canadians know, however, that Canada had established national leadership in jet engines with the Avro Canada C-107 Jetliner.

When it took off for the first time on August 10, 1949, the Jetliner was the first jet transport to fly in North America, a feat only two weeks behind the first in the world, the British de Havilland Comet. Within a few flights, the Jetliner exceeded 600 km/h, while the most advanced transports of the day achieved about 450 km/h. With the advent of the Korean War, the Canadian government ordered Avro to concentrate on production of the CF-100 interceptors. The prototype Jetliner made its last flight in November 1956, after which it was cut up and sold for scrap.

The CF-100 first flown in January 1950 met a fabled fate. The only one of 17 new Canadian passenger jets to reach production it was considered the best all-weather fighter of its day and was used by the RCN until the last one was wrecked in 1965.

The Museum tells the intertwined story of postwar jet design and manufacture in Canada with an exhibit that includes the only remaining major parts of the Arrow and

the Jetliner—near sections from each.

The outstanding success of the Canadian aviation industry in the postwar period is the Beaver, first flown in 1947. The Beaver is also the precursor of de Havilland's Canadian advanced short takeoff and landing (STOL) aircraft such as the Dash 7.

De Havilland's intention with the Beaver was to produce a simple, sturdy aircraft to meet Canadian bush flying needs. However, its excellent performance led to international success. In 1951 it won both the U.S. Air Force and the U.S. Army competitions for utility aircraft—the first time that a foreign-built aircraft had been purchased in prototype for the U.S. military. The Beaver was available in at least 13 other air forces and saw civil use in more than 50 countries.

Eventually, the Beaver became the most numerous of all Canadian-designed aircraft with 1,500 manufactured. Many Beavers continue in use to this day. The Museum's presentation is, appropriately, the prototype Beaver, acquired in 1986 after almost 30 years of rugged flying.

The aircraft, artifacts, and exhibits in the National Aviation Museum attest to the fact that, from the early days of aviation right up to the present, Canadians have been active as flyers, designers, and builders of aircraft.

But the juxtaposition of aircraft from the Silver Bird to modern jets also tells a more fundamental and universal story. The astonishing successes and mode failures of aviation have been achieved by individuals responding to the powerful allure of flight, because of their insatiable desire to participate in the flight adventure, they paralleled aviation from the flailing experiments of the pioneers to the sophistication of their age.

## Building a First-Class Aeronautical Collection

Canada's national aeronautical collection began with the preservation of a few military aircraft from World War I. Twenty-five aircraft acquired in war trophies by the Canadian government were eventually donated to the Canadian War Museum in 1950. The Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) slowly preserved machines from World War I and prior to the formation of the old National Aviation Museum at Upland's Airport in Ottawa in 1960 there was not a single civilian aircraft preserved in any federal museum.

A major step toward the building of a comprehensive collection was taken in 1964 when the National Aeronautical Collection came into being. Wing Commander Ralph Manning, RCAF historian at the time, not only conceived the idea of amalgamating existing holdings to form the National Aeronautical Collection (NAC) but also lobbied the RCAF to provide hangars at Rockcliffe Airport in Ottawa for its storage.

Even before the formation of the National Aeronautical Collection, however, Kenneth Molson, founding curator of the old Personnel Aviation Museum and whose book about the Museum will be published this fall, had set in motion a policy of acquiring the aircraft needed to round out the collection.

Acquiring these aircraft has often been an adventure. A Curtiss JN-4 (Canadians or "Canucks") the aircraft with true Canadian "fibre" that any other craft with a propeller from the beginning. A Canuck was located in a barn near Rochester, New York, and its purchase negotiated in 1961. However, the barn had been altered and the wings would no longer fit through the door. Molson recalls that the two Museum staff people were to recover the aircraft, had to disassemble the wings standing on the rafters and sawing in a cold wind that whistled through the open door that provided the only light for working.

During Molson's stewardship many other important aircraft were obtained, including a Neoprop 17 adapted to operate Billy Bishop's National Cross winning aircraft and a reproduction of the Sopwith "Triplane" used by the famous air-Canada "Red Bull".

The search for historically significant aircraft continued under Robert Blackford, who took over as curator when Molson retired in 1967. One 1935 quest took Blackford and Dr. David Black, director of the National Museum of Science and Technology to Beirut in Afghanistan to request the donation of a late Hawker Hind, a military aircraft used between the wars.

Blackford considers the recovery of the Curtiss HS-2L that made the first commercial bush flight in 1919 as one of the highlights of this time at the Museum. In 1966 the HS-2L was discovered on the bottom of an uncharted lake by pilot Don Campbell. The HS-

## The Royal Canadian Air Force and the Hall of Tribute

From its formation on April 1, 1924, until its integration into the Canadian Armed Forces on February 1, 1968, the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) did more to advance Canadian aviation in both peacetime and war than any other organization in Canada.

Before World War II, the RCAF played a central role in establishing civilian aviation in Canada, from forming pilots and library periods and conducting aerial surveys across the country and into the far north.

The RCAF had a distinguished record of wartime service. Over 250,000 Canadians served in the RCAF, and by the end of the war the RCAF was the third largest air force of the Western Allies.

However, most RCAF personnel overseas served with the Royal Air Force (RAF), and

most were commanded about 25 per cent of the overall strength of RAF squadrons. The major contribution to the war was overseas, around a heavy toll. Out of the 94,000 men and women in the wartime RCAF who served overseas, there were 35,000 casualties, over 15,000 from Bomber Command. In the postwar years, the RCAF has several distinct roles: to deter aggression, particularly through Canada's commitment to NATO to assist in United Nations peacekeeping operations, and to perform search and rescue operations. The RCAF performed these duties with candour.

The National Aviation Museum is the epitome of many aircraft flown by the RCAF and many of the significant events of the RCAF's history are highlighted in the Museum's exhibits. A prominent area in the Museum tells the story of the RCAF's long history, from its early days as the Royal Canadian Air Force Hall of Tribute, sponsored by the RCAF Memorial Fund.

According to Major-General C.J. Gauthier,

President of the RCAF Memorial Fund, "The Hall of Tribute was commissioned in the hope that Canadians will reflect upon and be inspired by the ideals of service and commitment for which the men and women of the RCAF always stood."

The Hall of Tribute is a striking wall-to-wall architectural feature designed by Toronto artist John Mizen. The artwork, explains Mizen, "is not only a sculpture about the devotion of flight but is also a very important scene in empty rooms in which each viewer stands as the center suspended so to speak between heaven and earth."

The room contains a 40-foot tall cylinder with burnished steel interior surfaces. Inside the cylinder, a semi-spherical bronze floor represents the earth's surface. The RCAF motto is engraved in the floor—the Avro C-107A. Through "Avenue to the Stars," the Hall of Tribute provides a room of great dignity for the quiet remembrance of the men and women who served with the RCAF.

# History in the Making

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...lowing year Museum personnel, volunteer drivers, and air cadets salvaged the aircraft. When we learned that the aircraft was actually La Vegaire (skidded) was stored, recovering this incident, Blandford says, "It seemed impossible this, having begun with just the possibility of finding some remains of the type of aircraft that began our bush flying, we should then find that it also carried out the first bush flying operation in our recorded aviation history."

Historical aircraft are often in a poor state of repair. The Museum's policy is to maintain the authenticity of the original aircraft. Consistency on the lookout for details to ensure historical accuracy that previous are backed by the Museum's collection of more than 40,000 photographs and by their aviation library in Canada. The painstaking and meticulous restoration work is done under the direction of curator Fred Short and assistant curators Barry Mackenzie and Ed Peaton—each with a lifetime of aviation experience to contribute.

Kenneth Molson, the Museum's first curator and one of Canada's foremost aviation historians, looks with pride at the progress made since the founding of the Museum more than 25 years ago. "It is unlikely that any of those associated with it in its early days could have envisaged the growth that would occur and how many outstanding gaps in the collection would be filled," says Molson.

## The New National Aviation Museum

**O**n abandoning Redcliffe as an operational airport in 1964, the RCAF generously agreed to the use of these hangars to house the collection. However, these two prime wooden buildings, constructed as temporary hangars in 1940, were woefully inadequate and the need to replace them was obvious.

In January 1972, Dr. David Reid, founding director of the National Museum of Science and Technology, submitted proposals for new housing to the Board of Trustees of the National Museum of Canada. It was ten years before Cabinet finally approved money to construct the first of three phases of a new National Aviation Museum. Without vigorous support from the entire aviation community, it is unlikely that the new Museum would ever have been built. An important lobbying effort was launched in 1978 by Mrs. Pat Joyce of Joyce Aviation Limited, who created the National Air Museum Society—a 35,000-member umbrella organization that included virtually every aviation group in the country. Air Marshal C.B. Dunlop, president of the RCAF Memorial Fund at this time, was also a key figure in mobilizing support for the new Museum. Finally, the then Minister of Communications, the Honourable Francis Fox,

personally adopted the cause of preserving Canada's aviation heritage.

With such influential and widespread support, Cabinet finally yielded to the inevitable and voted \$4.8 million for the first phase of a three-phase project in 1982. Designing and constructing a building to house over 100 aircraft and thousands of engines was a monumental task. Within the constraints of a relatively limited budget, Michael Lundholm, Director of Architectural Services for the National Museum of Canada and Guy Desbarrats, Public Works design architect for the project, managed to create an elegant design.

The 14,000-square-metre Phase I building is probably the largest welded steel-framed, single-story structure in Canada—also 1984 would graduate the heart of Dr. Alexander Graham Bell, the pioneer of helicopter flight in this country. Bell patented the helicopter system for kite construction in 1909 and three years later built a helicopter tower on his estate near Giddick, New Scotland, to prove its use in civil engineering.

The most critical operation in the construction of the building was the lifting and placement of the 26 roof sections, weighing in weight from 10 to 80 tons. At every lift, huge cranes were used to perform these delicate manoeuvres.

At the opening ceremonies the Museum's Chief Pilot, George Noel, will be flying the oldest registered aircraft still active in Canada, the Museum's Aero 504K, built in 1918, the same year George Noel took down ■

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AIR CANADA



Afghan Army draftees after the withdrawal; doubtful prospects for peace

AFGHANISTAN

## A bitter Soviet legacy

Plastic roses and color photographs of Afghan women adorn the cab windows of Soviet military trucks that rumble regularly through Kabul's dusty, traffic-jammed streets. Sometimes the Soviet troops wave as they drive north through Afghanistan's capital on their way home. But rarely do Afghans return the greeting. Two weeks after the start of a phased pullout of about 300,000 Soviet soldiers from Afghanistan, Kabul residents generally seem impatient for the withdrawal to be completed. After 8½ years of leading an uneasy intervention in the landlocked, fiercely Islamic country, it is an emotion seldom shared by the Soviets themselves. Gen. Aleksandr Lebedev, political chief of the Soviet armed forces, said last week that 350,000 troops had left between May 15 and May 28, and he added that 50 per cent of the contingent would be out by Aug. 15. Declared Lebedev: "The Soviet Union is carrying out the withdrawal unambiguously."

In Kabul, members of the 50-man United Nations Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan (UNOMAP) said that the withdrawal was proceeding on schedule. But a respected London-based research institute issued a discouraging report on the prospects for peace after the Soviet pullout is completed next February. In its annual survey released last week, the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) said that Afghanistan's Communist regime "could not hold power without the Soviet military support of Soviet troops." Added the institute's deputy director, John Cross: "We could see another post-Soviet state, rather like Lebanon, with separate areas operating in a more or less autonomous way."

Under the terms of a historic April accord, the official Soviet withdrawal began on May 12 in the eastern city of Jalalabad. There have also been unpublicized withdrawals from the western city of Herat. And last week Soviet troops began pulling out of the key southwestern city of Kandahar and from Shindand, an strategic south of Herat. Under constant threat of attack by Afghan Muslim rebels known as Mujahideen—who officials in Moscow last week said had been largely responsible for the killing of 15,330 Soviet soldiers and the wounding of 36,478 since 1979—the departing troops leave little to chance. Huge armored columns are sent ahead to scout and secure exit routes before the rest of the troops move out.

Monitoring the Soviet withdrawal from Kabul are Canadian UNOMAP observers Lt-Col. David Leslie and Capt. Pat Christie. The two men share a villa provided by the Afghan government with several other observers from nine different countries. Each morning at 4:00, the first of four six-person teams sets off in a jeep to scout departing Soviets in the capital. Christie, who came under rocket attack while observing the Soviet pullout from Jalalabad last month, said that so far the withdrawal is proceeding unambiguously. Added Leslie: "We are prepared to endure a little hardship and a little risk."

Following the Soviet departure, the Afghan army, too, has abandoned several towns and garrisons, leaving much of the border area near Pakistan to advancing rebels. The Kabul government claims that some territory was not worth defending. Still, in the eastern town of Jaji, Afghan troops pulled out so quickly that they left behind what one Western diplomat described as "a mess of war material."

Among the last Soviet reductions to be abandoned will be Kabul, which is well defended by up to 20,000 Soviet troops. Last week Soviet soldiers were digging protective earthworks around their compounds and building a 15-foot wall at the Soviet Embassy to protect against rocket blasts. The governments are necessary. Since May 12 four rebel rockets have hit the Daud Aman district, which contains the Soviet and other Eastern Bloc embassies, as well as the local headquarters of the army and Soviet Army. An Afghan broadcaster was killed in the attack and three other people were injured.

According to the IISS survey released last week, the Afghan army alone will be hard pressed to defend government-held areas. The completion of the Soviet withdrawal, the report said, would prompt a "rush to Kabul" by rival Mujahideen groups. Indeed, in their haste to leave Afghanistan, the Soviets' legacy may well be many more years of bitter sectarian war. But as Cross declared: "I have a strong impression from Soviet officials that Moscow is not overly concerned what happens after departure."

—ANITA WATSON (with  
DAN RABINOVITZ in Kabul)

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# A spreading German gloom

**T**he Second World War left Germany with little more than flattened factories, bombed fields and millions of hungry and homeless people. But with massive infusion of dollars and under the American-sponsored Marshall Plan, the newly created Federal Republic of Germany rebuilt itself with investment and energy. Its export was astonishing. By the mid-1980s exports of steel, coal, machinery and high-quality consumer goods were fueling a surging recovery that had outpaced all of its European neighbors. But cracks are now showing in West Germany's economic machine. Manmade subsidies that prop up inefficient industries are a major drain on the treasury, and taxes and labor costs are among the highest in Europe. Dirkens Jansen, director of economics at the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London, said that the result has been the "transformation of Germany from the economic locomotive of Europe to its dragging anchor."

With a gross national product (GNP) of \$1,808 billion last year, Germany's huge economy remains the largest in Europe and the third-largest in the Western world. After the United States and Japan, it is also the world's largest single exporter, ahead of those same two countries. But there are persistent signs that Germany's pre-eminent role could end within the next decade if its cautious, fiscally conservative government does not take steps to revitalize the heavily regulated economy. In fact, many analysts say that in almost every area—agriculture, heavy industry, finance, telecommunications and transportation—German industry is

due for extensive modernization.

The enormous size of the German economy means that many other world markets rise and fall with it. United States Treasury Secretary James Baker has repeatedly demanded that West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl expand the economy, creating increased demand for American exports. But Kohl has steadfastly resisted the pressure, citing the inflationary effect of stimulative measures and insisting that Germany will take no chances with the stability of its currency.

But signs of economic malaise are everywhere. Growth last year among the other leading industrial nations—the United States, Japan, Britain, France, Italy and Canada—averaged

8.3 per cent, but Germany's rose only 1.5 per cent since 1989, while over-stimulating Britain has posted yearly GNP gains of up to four per cent since 1982. Said Daniel Schweser, international economist at the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce: "We could see a change in the balance among European countries by 2000 if Germany continues to stagnate and other countries continue to grow."

Unemployment, already unacceptably high at 9.7 per cent, is expected to rise slightly this year. Particularly hard-hit are the steel and coal industries in the Ruhr Valley. Once a vigorous industrial heartland, the Ruhr is now a rust belt as grim as any in the world. Nearly 300,000 jobs have been lost in the town of Duisburg in the past two years, pushing unemployment there to 55 per cent. At the same time, German labor costs have skyrocketed. With generous benefits, including six-week annual holidays, one employee



Building generators: growing doubts

costs a typical German company about 80 per cent more than a similar employee in poorer industrialized countries such as Great Britain.

As slower economic growth puts into tax revenues, the cost of supporting those who are out of work has mounted—and that is pushing Germany deeper into debt. But Germans are proud of the safety net that their extensive social welfare system provides, and most are firmly opposed to any cutbacks in social services. There are still many who remember losing everything twice in a single lifetime—after each world war. But the costs are high. On average, 26 per cent of an employee's salary goes to support the public health care system.

Even the industrial sector has grown accustomed to guaranteed support. Subsidies totalling \$32.7 billion are keeping agricultural, steel, coal and shipbuilding alive, but some of these industries are expected to recover from the current slump decline in the near future. Said Schweser: "In the end, it is a waste because they are not channeling resources where the demand is. It's an investment in the past, not the

future." And the price is already being paid. This year's projected deficit of \$26 billion is higher—as a percentage of GNP—than even the bulging American budget deficit.

Finance Minister Gerhard Stolte-

berg has made no attempt to stimulate the economy by using tax cuts to bolster consumer demand, but he has managed to do little more than gain a reputation for stringency. Under a major tax reform he announced in 1986, Bonn pledged to cut taxes until a total of \$41 billion would be lopped off tax bills by 1990. Last fall, however, he announced that at least a third of the cuts would be clawed back through more taxation on consumer goods, the reintroduction of a windfalling tax and the abolition of other tax breaks. In addition, the top rate of corporate tax will be cut by one per cent, to 35 per cent.

That, at least, is what appears unambiguously with Great Britain's top rate of only 35 per cent. The net result will be that the German economy stands to gain little, if anything, from the tax package. Said a leading economist with the renowned Kiel Institute:

"As it turns out, the scope of tax reform will not be sufficient to breathe more dynamism into the flagging economy."

One bright spot is the meagering surge in exports that began late last year and has continued this year. But

Germany's heavy dependence on exports makes it particularly vulnerable to currency fluctuations. The nearly 80-per-cent decline of the American dollar against the deutsche mark over the past two years helped take a slice off of Germany's trade surplus, which dropped to \$27.4 billion in 1987 from \$80 billion in 1985. But the growing bulk of Germany's European neighbors—where 80 per cent of German exports are sold—has helped offset the loss. And most nervous in the European Common Market trade is a narrow margin close to the mark, effectively protecting German exports to Europe from currency swings.

Still, the German economy is expected to remain stagnant until major reforms are enacted to make its industries more competitive with countries following more forward-looking policies. But even the lowering of all trade barriers in Europe, set for 1990, will galvanize the German economy if its industries remain expensive relative to those of its trading partners. And it is unclear whether the political will to change exists. West Germans can still point to one of the highest standards of living in the world. Extremely low inflation makes even enormous real gains. And the traditional German admiration for thrift and fiscal conservatism confirms the government's reluctance to take risks. Ultimately, West Germany has little choice but to undertake sweeping reforms to reorganize the flow of its post-war economic success. But the adjustment could be painful and slow. Now, there is a great deal to lose, and the West Germans, rich and set in three ways, have a great deal to be concerned about.

—PATRICK CREHOM with PETER LEWIS in Brussels and correspondent reports



Kohl taking no risks

## Toward a unified Europe

**T**he European Community's drive to be well as 12 national markets into a single economy by 1993 has become an obsession in Western Europe. Corporations and the state whenever they must takeover back, technocrats use it as a weapon to discourage inefficiency, and politicians say that it will put Europe on an equal economic footing with North America and Japan. This week the EC's Council of Ministers will pass the way to integration when they meet in Luxembourg to sign an agreement to remove nearly all barriers to the free flow of goods, services and money in Europe. And the race to turn Europe into a

united trading bloc has galvanized some non-EC countries such as Turkey, which desperately wants into the act before 1993. But the EC, which recently adopted the post-European states of Spain and Portugal, is a handful of industrialized, technologically advanced, but economically hobbled countries.

In just four years the EC hopes to become the huge free trade bloc that was envisaged when it was conceived from the Treaty of Rome in 1957. Three years ago Lord Cockfield, the 71-year-old British in charge of the EC's barrier-busting drive, identified nearly 300 obstacles that he said had to be removed before 1992. So far, he's about 15 down, but he's not finished, and another 18 or 15 will be knocked out in the next few months. Still, Cockfield says he is confident that in 1993 the EC will become "a

community where traders do business in other member states as they now do in their own states or towns. Indeed, the EC may even introduce a common currency.

But the EC's grand design will have to be justified through a marketplace made up of its member nations' personal interests, political considerations and economic realities. But there are strong motives for forging a single European market. A major study published by the EC late last month determined that abolishing barriers would create five million new jobs. And those findings are clearly of interest to the Turkish government, which says that its economic future must be linked to the emerging European free trade bloc.

—PETER LEWIS in Brussels





Loading grain for export: corporate gains and losses on the free trade front

## Caught between promises

The responses were swift and diverse. Robert Larnard, president of Calgary-based Cinar Resources Ltd., said that he hopes to sell more natural gas in the United States. Charles Gentry, executive vice-president of the Canadian Cattlemen's Association, and that domestic cattle producers should lose few barriers from American meat inspectors. And Hugo Powell, president of Langley, BC-based McGillivray Foods Ltd., said that BC bakers should be able to reexport business lost to American competitors in recent years. These were some of the reactions from the Canadian business community last week after federal International Trade Minister John Crosbie introduced a massive legislative package to implement the Canada-U.S. free trade agreement. If passed by Parliament, the five-part bill will amend a total of 37 statutes and provide for the elimination of hundreds of tariffs on imported American products.

The bill immediately triggered a political uproar among the federal opposition members, who evidently sensed that it may be their last chance—aside from a possible election—to derail the process. And at least three members publicly expressed concern that the bill would give Ottawa new powers to

enforce compliance over provincial objections. Adding impetus to the federal government's push, last week Congress wrapped provisions calling for provincial approval of the free trade deal, leaving the U.S. administration free to draft a final agreement.

Still, some sectors found themselves caught between promises made by the Ottawa government and legislative changes proposed by Ottawa. Various provincial regulations have traditionally shielded Canadian wineries, which are primarily located in Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia, from foreign competition. Barbara Maritz, project manager for the Toronto-based Canadian Wine Institute, said that the Liquor Control Board of Ontario marks up the price of imported wines by 66 per cent, compared to a one-per-cent markup on domestic wines. The free trade deal stipulated that the protective measures have to be cut in half within two years and that remaining protection has to be phased out over the following five years. But last November the Ontario government signed an agreement with the grape growers and wine producers providing for a 18-year phase-out period, said Maritz.

Crosbie's bill also caused dismay among Canada's printing companies, which employ 85,000 people and gener-

ate revenues of \$5 billion annually. Massimo Benvenuto, director of government relations for the Canadian Printing Industries Association, said that tariffs on printed goods coming in from the United States average 16 per cent but can run as high as 26.3 per cent on advertising inserts and 28.6 per cent on department store catalogues. The tariffs will be eliminated over a five-year period, and a study sponsored by the association has concluded that at least 3,000 jobs could disappear as a result.

And the government has plotted to end the long-established two-price wheat system. Wheat farmers have been receiving a minimum of \$7 per bushel on wheat sold domestically, while the world price received for exports has been as low as \$3 per bushel in recent years. As a result, Canadian farmers, particularly in the Vancouver area, have lost up to 15 per cent of their market to American competitors who pay the lower world price for their wheat. Steve McGillivray's Powell. "Our prices and margins have been cut to the point where it is a very unhealthy business."

But most sectors of the business community remain solid supporters of free trade. William Neil, director of international affairs for the Toronto-based Canadian Manufacturers' Association, said that a survey of the group's 3,000 members in March revealed that 80 per cent were satisfied with the transition period specified for their particular industry. Ciar's Larnard said that potential U.S. buyers of Canadian natural gas will be able to sign long-term contracts without fear of future political intervention. Lawrence Bugnolo, immediate past-chairman of the Auto Parts Manufacturers' Association of Canada, said that the association supports the trade deal, even though it wanted a 50-per-cent North American content rule for vehicles assembled in the continent, but the free trade agreement only specifies a 50-per-cent rule. But although the deal is being well received in most boardrooms, government markets remain. Barring political opposition and consulting agencies from some protected industries may yet derail free trade.

—DANIEL HENDER

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# Oil and troubled waters

**N**ova Scotia fishermen hailed the new law as a victory by a group of underdog Maritimers over a huge U.S. oil company. Last week the Nova Scotia legislature passed a bill to stop oil and gas drilling on the fish-rich Georges Bank until the fish-rich

week was involved in a takeover battle with U.S. financier Carl G. Icahn. Tension sparked the fisheries controversy last year when it announced that it would seek permission from the Canadian government to drill exploratory wells



Drilling for oil off the East Coast, a potential bonanza put on hold

on the Georges Bank. Tension flared when the federal Energy Minister Marcel Masse last month to change the Canada-Nova Scotia offshore jurisdiction agreement and to impose a 15-year moratorium on Georges Bank exploration. Tension officials charge that the decision was made rashly and without proper scientific evidence. They also say that the company was never allowed to fully present its case. The story, said Tanco spokesman Brian Hay: "The way this was handled seems disturbing questions about how energy policy is made in Canada." But government officials say that the decision was a compromise between doing nothing and licensing drilling permanently. And Tanco's experience illustrates what can happen when corporate and regional interests clash. Said Nova Scotia Energy Minister Kenneth Stewart: "When the debate is over a thriving fishing industry and an offshore oil and gas industry, we're not in there, we will take the fishing every time."

Tanco Canada is a subsidiary of White Plains, N.Y.-based Tanco Inc., which recently emerged from bankruptcy after a restructuring and which last

year was involved in a takeover battle with U.S. financier Carl G. Icahn. Tension flared when the federal Energy Minister Marcel Masse last month to change the Canada-Nova Scotia offshore jurisdiction agreement and to impose a 15-year moratorium on Georges Bank exploration. Tension officials charge that the decision was made rashly and without proper scientific evidence. They also say that the company was never allowed to fully present its case. The story, said Tanco spokesman Brian Hay: "The way this was handled seems disturbing questions about how energy policy is made in Canada." But government officials say that the decision was a compromise between doing nothing and licensing drilling permanently. And Tanco's experience illustrates what can happen when corporate and regional interests clash. Said Nova Scotia Energy Minister Kenneth Stewart: "When the debate is over a thriving fishing industry and an offshore oil and gas industry, we're not in there, we will take the fishing every time."

Tanco Canada is a subsidiary of White Plains, N.Y.-based Tanco Inc., which recently emerged from bankruptcy after a restructuring and which last

company's campaign had to endure rumors that it was conducting secret exploratory tests from fishing lands.

Tanco's image suffered again during a dinner held in Halifax last October when Tanco Canada Resources then-president William Gately became embroiled in a heated argument with National Sea Products Ltd. president Gordon Cunningham after the edible had lectured a group of Nova Scotia businessmen about their over-dependence to take risks. Said one provincial official: "That was the turning point for Tanco's support within the Nova Scotia business community."

The drilling ban is the latest in a long series of frustrations for Tanco since it acquired the drilling rights to 2.8 million acres on the northeast corner of Georges Bank in 1964. From 1970 to 1980 its exploration plans were on hold while Canada and the United States settled a jurisdictional dispute over the fertile bank. And there were further delays as the Nova Scotia and federal governments worked out an arrangement for administering offshore oil development. Now, after pouring \$12 million into environmental studies and exploration, Tanco has not found a single barrel of crude. At the same time, the company's conventional oil reserves have steadily declined. Said David Stetson, an oil analyst

with Montreal-based brokerage house Lindeque Realities Inc. "The loss of whatever is under Georges Bank could have major implications for its long-term corporate strategy."

In terms of the oil industry as a whole, Dog said that if Ottawa was the Georges Bank as a precedent, there could be major difficulties. He added the industry is concerned that it might also suffer a drilling ban in the environmentally sensitive North or offshore British Columbia, where Ottawa is currently trying to work out jurisdictional arrangements similar to the one that governs the waters of Nova Scotia. And if that happens, Tanco's failure to manage public opinion in the Maritimes may prove disastrous to more than just its own long-term fiscal health.

—JOHN DEMONT



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# Adventures in the pizza trade

By Peter C. Newman

A John Cranlie kicked off the Great Free Trade Debate in Parliament last week, Canadian businessmen began to review the practical—as opposed to the theoretical—effects of the proposed pact. If approved, it will create the world's first \$5-trillion bilateral economy—the most ambitious trading arrangement since the European Community was formed in 1988.

McCaun, of Bramanville, N.B., seemed a logical choice to interview about free trade, because no Canadian has been more successful in spreading his business around the world. Three-quarters of McCaun's revenues from food processing and nearly two-thirds of his firm's total sales are now outside Canada. I finally located McCaun in an industrial suburb of Brussels, negotiating yet another of the experiences that have propelled his family empire to an annual turnover of \$1.1 billion. "We're free traders by nature," he told me. "If the government were to just come out and say, 'Hey, McCaun, do you favor lowering tariffs in every case that's practical?' I'd of course say 'Yes!'"

But, McCaun continued, "in the case of this particular deal, I'd have to say, 'Don't drape us in the food industry.' The problem is that we have to buy our meatballs cheese for the pizzas we make in Canada through marketing boards. That means it costs 30 per cent more than it would in the United States. At the moment, the Americans are not allowed to ship their cheese into Canada, but with free trade, they'll be selling their pizzas here duty-free. How do we buy cheese in Canada at 30 per cent more and still be competitive? We can't be. And we have exactly the same problem with our frozen dinners because of chicken marketing boards, and so on."

What would be the company's future inside a free trade area? Harrison McCaun didn't want to be that specific, but he recently sent a private letter to New Brunswick Premier Frank McKenna in which he pointedly explained that, if government factors were to make his plant's continued presence in the province attractive, "we're a multinational and have other options—infinitely more employees and growers don't."

McCaun accuses Brian Mulroney of not playing his trump cards effectively by dilly-dallying with both the National

Energy Program and an effective Foreign Investment Review Agency before the trade deal was negotiated. Charged McCaun: "The Prime Minister threw them in for a grenade by the United States Maritime Board on the White House lawn."

McCaun says that he is also angry with chief trade negotiator Brian Reynolds, who, in a recent speech in Saint John, N.B., was reported to have said "McCaun takes advantage of a



McCaun: we're free traders by nature

protected market here and jacks up his prices accordingly. Then he hops the border to the U.S., Australia, France or wherever and enjoys protection under those markets. A fellow as wily as my old pal Harrison should learn to live in a fully competitive environment."

"When doesn't know what the hell he's talking about?" McCaun shouted across the Atlantic in a voice that would almost carry without a telephone. "We export a third of our

french fries from Tokyo to Saudi Arabia and points in between. I don't give a damn what Reynolds thinks. Under free trade, Canada's food industry will do a hell of a lot less business than it does now."

Then McCaun got really wound up. "What about all these fellows who were heroes at a 60-cent dollar? When we get the quantity of our gas and electricity flowing into the U.S. we can export under free trade, the Canadian dollar won't be at 80 cents, it'll be a lot, lot higher. How damn heroic will they be at 80 cents or more, three or five years from now?"

Marketing vice-presidents of Canadian companies who saw the prospect of gushing sales to \$40 trillion cash-rich consumers instead of being limited to 25 million penny-pinching Canadians should make sure that their home manufacturing facilities can afford to remain on this side of the border. The McCaun dilemma is not unique.

"What I'd really like to hear," came McCaun's parting shot, "is somebody standing up in Vancouver, or Halifax, or Toronto right now and declaring, 'Free trade is such a great deal, I'm going to start building a factory tomorrow. I'll double my capacity! I'll build a whole new industry! My God, just let me do it! Why aren't we hearing that?' I wonder..."

So do we all.

Trade pacts between nations have triggered their own, bewildering jargon, and the current debate as the issue often confuses the few distinctive arrangements that can exist between economic partners.

1. **A Free Trade Area**, which is now being debated in the House of Commons, is a plan to eliminate, over a predetermined but lengthy period, tariff restrictions between two nations.

2. **A Customs Union** is a free trade area plus a selection of common external tariffs against third countries.

3. **A Common Market** is a customs union plus an agreement for the free movement of labor and capital among member nations.

4. **An Economic Union** is a common market plus a pledge by member countries to re-coordinate all of their resources (not just trade) policies.

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Collins: sex, rock 'n' roll and a finished world

For 30 years Jackie Collins has produced shiny novels featuring intimated young women and ruthless men in her 12th book, *Rock Star*, Collins, 54, switches from Hollywood to nearby Los Angeles—and the frenzied world of rock 'n' roll—to help with the transition. Collins, whose sister Jane, 55, stars on *TV's Dynasty*, turned to several real-life muses, including friends Ringo Starr and Elton John. As for her own life, Collins, who lives in Beverly Hills with her husband of 22 years, divorcee owner Oscar Larman, claims that it is too tame to compete with her sexy best-sellers. Added Collins, "If I were living the life that my characters live, I would be too exhausted to write about them."



Macdonald: "Yeah"

Her life is a tale of forbidden love, terrorism and personal tragedy. And in *As I Am*, Patricia Neal's autobiography, the actress struggles to put her 62 years into perspective. The saga includes details of a three-year love affair with actor Gary Cooper, who was married to actress Bette Davis; *Shaw at the Time*, which

refers to the southern situation. "I said Normy: 'We have a real strong sense of our home.'"

He has described his own writing as "a strain upon the silence." But for four decades, Norm Macdonald, 55, has earned critical praise for his plat-

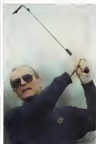
ened after Neal underwent an abortion at his insistence. And looking back on her 30-year marriage to writer David Seltzer, Neal recalls a man who took pleasure in humiliating her after a series of strokes left her unable to walk or talk for several months. Still, Neal, who now lives alone in New York City, claims that the writing of her story has brought her a peculiar comfort. Writes Neal: "I hope that in some herring, I can at least know there is sense in all of this."

Fifty years ago Toronto-born illustrator Joe Shuster, 73, sent his cousin Frank a sketch of a movie strip he was trying to get published. Recalling that first glimpse of Superman, 71-year-old Frank, now one-half of the Wayne and Shuster Canadian comedy team, says that the drawing was "not bad." Shuster added that he regrets throwing out the sketch of the Man of Steel, who would later leap to prominence in American cultural history. Of his childhood cousin, who now lives in semi-retirement in Los Angeles, Shuster said: "Joe is exactly like Clark Kent. He was the quiet guy with glasses. Superman was what he dreamed he could be."

Calling his recently released album, *Serenade*, after the Virginia coast, where he grew up, pop musician Bruce Hornsby says that he finds inspiration in the down-to-earth people of his childhood. Hornsby, 33, who with his band, The Range, this month begins a 15-week North American tour with at least three stops in Canada, describes the ties to his youth as a "personal artistic for the southern situation." Said Hornsby: "We have a real strong sense of our home."

tive depiction of a world scarred by pain and despair. Now the native Irishman, who has lived in Paris since 1958, has broken a seven-year literary silence—with a single sentence. Reflecting what many critics have called a tendency on the part of the Nobel Prize-winning author to reduce his writings to the bare essentials, *L'Usage* is a 1,200-word ramble—without punctuation—that tells the absurdist tale of a woman, a dog, a cleaning girl and a packet of sandwiches. Said French literary critic Jean-Pierre Fassin: "Beckett's prose has become rarefied. Until he is quiet. Almost."

He is part sportsman, part philosopher. And in his just-released book, *The Natural Golf Swing*, touring pro George Knudson tells how he turned natural talent into one of the most successful careers in Canadian golfing history. The 58-year-old Winnipeg native writes that his success was based on an optimistic outlook that also helped him to prevail in contests off the course—including a 1982



Knudson: a natural philosopher

battle with lung cancer. As for his achievements during 22 years on the professional circuit, Knudson claims that those were also the result of a positive state of mind. He added: "It is more a philosophy, an attitude, than just put your right hand here and your left hand there. Just like the title says, it's natural."

—VICTOR DRYER with correspondence reports

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# Dry wells and springs of hope

Water is a commodity that most people take for granted—until it becomes scarce. Then it becomes a precious resource. That is particularly evident during the current drought affecting Alberta and Saskatchewan and several parts of the United States. In Alberta, one woman took a job as a diver in a bar because her husband refused to sell their failing farm—and, she said, they needed the extra money. In Los Angeles, authorities are leaving residents from washing down their patios and sidewalks. And Toronto Star writer David Crane drew a troubling response from Information Trade Minister John Crosbie by offering water-related aspects of the proposed free trade agreement. Crane claimed that during future droughts the Americans could have access to Canadian water resources. Declared Crosbie: "We are not supposed to sell one thimbleful of H<sub>2</sub>O to the U.S."

The drought on the Prairies has produced its own pattern of colorful reactions—ranging from increasingly familiar for the past four years Alberta and Saskatchewan—and, to a lesser degree, Manitoba—have endured serious drought. The resulting situation of events creates a domino effect: lower-than-normal rainfall and lighter spring runoffs from a lack of snow cause dry pastures. That means less pasture for livestock so that ranchers have to rely more on stored feed to fatten cattle. But the drought also affects the crops—and the low yields force ranchers to buy hay and grain on the open market. The poor yields not only cut profits for the grain growers, but also drive the price of livestock stock beyond reach of the ranchers.

Through a variety of assistance programs, provincial authorities provide some aid—and crop insurance

covers some of the farmers' losses. Provincial officials usually ask Ottawa for help. In fact, the federal government has paid out a total of \$225 million in drought assistance since the 1984-1985 crop year. But many

assured as little as 25 per cent the actual amount during the first three months of the year, and provinces have extended into Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama. In Nevada, "the drought is still



Harold Hunt watering cattle at Estancia, Alta. dry wells, poor pastures and reactive public.

farmers and ranchers are experiencing an income squeeze.

This year officials from Alberta and Saskatchewan, under pressure from farmers and ranchers, have actively appealed to their federal counterpart, John Wine. Declared Saskatchewan Premier Grant Devine: "I really don't believe that the provincial taxpayer can handle a disaster." Wine agreed to meet with Devine and other western officials on May 31 to discuss what can be done. On May 25 Wine told the Commons, "If that develops into a full-blown drought, we can act as action being taken." But later he said that he was not prepared to discuss any details.

Across the United States, devine is threatening crops, causing forest fires and prompting water rationing in some areas. Rainfall in parts of North Carolina and Tennessee mea-

sured as little as 25 per cent the actual amount during the first three months of the year, and provinces have extended into Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama. In Nevada, "the drought is still

as with a passion," said the state's climatologist, John James, who chairs a committee considering both long-term and short-term measures to alleviate the problem. Northern California is experiencing its worst water shortage in 12 years, and farmers, businesses and residents have been asked to cut back on water use. In San Francisco, authorities have ordered residents to cut consumption by 25 per cent.

In Los Angeles, annual rainfall usually measures close to 15 inches. From July 1, 1987, to April 1, the rainfall measured 13.6 inches—considered normal for that period. But the city depends largely on water supplied by runoff from the snowpack in the Sierra Nevada, the mid-California mountain range. And for the second year in a row snowpack levels have been below normal—by as much

as 60 per cent in some areas. As a result, city authorities have implemented measures that include a ban on the washing down of sidewalks, patios and driveways and the use of decorative fountains unless owners recycle water. Residents who fail to comply within six months will be issued a letter of warning, followed by restrictions on their water supply and, ultimately by disconnection. Owners of multiple-dwelling buildings who fail to meet conservation measures

losing their own route for slaughter. Alberta, which has experienced six years of below-average rainfall, has been especially hard hit by the drought. Low rainfall and poor surface runoff have left shallow wells of 30 feet or less dry or nearly empty. And it is not only ranchers and farmers who have suffered. Richard Fowler, president of the Alberta Urban Municipalities Association, said that when agricultural suffers a depression, "It has a highly detrimental effect on ur-

Smith was moving his cattle from pasture to pasture, trucking water to them and looking for the best breeding prospect that he said he could get "an inch of rain." Rodney Morrison, a grain farmer near Lethbridge, usually grows wheat and a small amount of hay on 300 acres. But he says that this year would have seen his dry crops any day. "I've never seen it this dry right off the bat in the spring," he added. "We've actually haven't had any rain since August of last year." If the dry weather continues, he added, "I'll probably have to go try to find a job. I can't survive just on the crop income."

But to benefit from insurance is a dry pool, there first has to be a crop. And even seedling is dry earth may damage the soil, making it vulnerable to severe wind erosion. As a result, desperate farmers and ranchers continue their reliance on government assistance.

But, as Alberta Wheat Pool spokesman Douglas Brunton pointed out, dependence on government aid creates drawbacks of its own. In that province, 44 per cent of the gross income that its 45,000 grain farmers earned last year was in the form of government assistance. Declared Brunton: "The farmers already depend heavily on government, and now the Canadian government can go to the aid again." Added Brunton,

referring to speculation that there will be an autumn federal election: "This will be an issue for a full election."

Other experts say that panic over the issue is premature. Declared Roger Harbeck, chief hydrologist at the Alberta Environment in Edmonton: "There is no indication of any major climatic change or drought cycle. It is still too early."

Meanwhile, on a hill near Cardston, Alta., Wallace Mountain House Re-spiritual leader of the Blood Indian Reserve, is camping out in what he describes as hot blunder trip, engaged in a ritual attempt to induce sustained rain. The priest says his grandmother told him that the wells run dry, there are springs of hope.

—MAGNUS MUEVER with JOHN HORSHE in Calgary, DEBRA TOWERS in Regina, DEUG SMITH in Winnipeg, DORIS LAYTON in Ottawa and ANNE GORDON in Los Angeles.



Gary Ribbons on his hole at Picture Butte, Alta.: a reduced spring runoff and below-average rain.

will have a 10-per-cent surcharge added to their water bills. After two years the surcharge will rise to 100 per cent. The city is also providing preferential planning permission to builders of commercial, industrial and multifamily homes who build separate properties with drought-resistant plants and install other conservation measures.

Meanwhile, in Western Canada the drought has reached alarming proportions. In fact, some meteorologists have likened the situation to the dust-bowl conditions of the 1930s. Spring grazing lands are parched, and ranchers are being forced to supplement grain feeding with hay and grain. But since hay is now selling at \$80 to \$95 a ton—double the price of only six months ago. As a result, many Prairie ranchers have shipped their yearlings to feedlots instead of fatten-

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# A surprising call to the bench

He is a tough, high-profile litigation lawyer, many of whose clients have been equally prominent. They include Benoit Pellet, a Toronto nurse charged in 1993 in connection with four related murders and, a year later, former federal cabinet minister Sinclair Stevens and such Republican figures as the Aga Khan, spiritual leader of about 30 million Muslims. But on May 21, just before he was to fly to Helsinki to participate in an inquiry involving his ethnic heritage—an investigation into the crimes of the Ukrainian famine of 1932 to 1933—Borovick John Sopinka received a telephone call from Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. He accepted the Prime Minister's offer, and three days later—to widespread praise—Mulroney announced that Sopinka, 50, would become a Supreme Court judge in June. He had Ontario Attorney General Ian Scott, who faced Sopinka across the courtroom in the Nelson case. "He is extraordinarily competent, he has wide interests, and I think he will make a very interesting contribution to the court."



Sopinka (above): Nelson: a witness in the potato patch

idea where he stands on issues."

Sopinka is a partner in the respected Toronto firm Stikeman, Elliott and is expected to leave firm to the Conservative party. As well as acting for Brown—in 1987 a royal commission found that the former industry minister had contravened 14 violations of conflict-of-interest guidelines—he has defended other federal Tory cabinet ministers.

In 1986 Sopinka represented the Yukon and Northwest Territories in a constitutional challenge to one of the Mulroney government's key initiatives, the Meech Lake constitutional accord. The graft, often-sensational courtroom retort maintains that he has no preconceived ideas about political issues. He added, "Some brand me as a Tory lawyer because I acted for a couple of Tories. They forget the fact that I acted for a couple of Liberal cabinet ministers in the past—and

for one, mid that he found it difficult to give the lawyer's political and social philosophy. Declared Robinson: "Mr Sopinka has a very distinguished record as counsel, but we have to

at the time I was called a Liberal."

Sopinka also said that he intends to remain active in public debate in order to reflect the views of society in his decisions. He added, "I don't think that a judge has to be a monk." He will, however, have to pare down his lifestyle, as a Supreme Court judge, he will take a salary pay cut—to \$151,790 a year from the estimated \$400,000 to \$500,000 that he has been earning in private practice.

The son of immigrants who fled the Ukraine in 1925, Sopinka is a native of Brodick, Sask., is the first ethnic Canadian appointed to the Supreme Court since Ben Luskis Laskin—who took his seat on the bench in 1970, became chief justice in 1973 and died in 1984—was the son of Jewish immigrants from Russia. Sopinka, who is married with two grown-up children, was raised in Hamilton and played defensive halfback for both the Toronto Argonauts and the Montreal Alouettes before graduating from the University of Toronto law school in 1968.

Called to the Ontario bar in 1968, Sopinka then took on a work load of consistently difficult and controversial cases, including a 1980 inquiry—under a royal commission headed by his predecessor, Breyer—into the collapse of the Northland Bank and Canadian Commercial Bank, two western commercial institutions. Now, Sopinka will likely take on Raley's estate as the high-court authority on complex commercial and financial law.

Still, Sopinka says that his most satisfying case was that of Nelson, who he most recently represented in the Supreme Court last March in an appeal for leave to sue her prosecutors for \$400,000. Nelson, a native of Belleville, Ont., is still awaiting a decision. Not far away from that town is Prince Edward County, Sopinka owns a farm where he relaxes by tending his potato patch. He also enjoys playing the violin—at which he is said to be gifted. But those sedentary challenges will be supplanted by rigorous tests of his ability. This time, says Sopinka, slips into the ermine-trimmed robes of the top judiciary and takes his place in the highest court of the land.

—ANNE STREACE



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R.R.L. Premier Joe Ghis (center) with protesters: an integral part of rural life

## COMMUNICATIONS

# Fighting Canada Post

**T**he octed up-on track that left Westboro, B.C., on May 35 is emblematic with the slogan "Close to coast for rural post." Despite the truck's frequent mechanical problems, the two women inside say that they remain determined to gather as many letters as they can from rural Canadians who are opposed to Canada Post Corp.'s plan to privatize or close more than 6,000 small-town post offices by May 24, as the eastbound truck entered Edmonton, another truck— which had left Port Huron, N.S., on May 15—arrived in Halifax. On June 5 the two trucks are scheduled to link up in Wilno, Ont., 140 km west of Oshawa, and the next day representatives of Rural Dignity of Canada—the group that has organized the three-week demonstration—plan to travel to Parliament Hill to deliver the letters of protest. Bold driver Cindy Sarrs, one of the spokesmen for the tour "Canada is a vast country. Our postal service has held us together as a nation, and now they are trying to take it away from us."

British-born residents formed Rural Dignity in December, 1985, in response to the announcement of the corporation's plan—a move that group members say poses a direct threat to their way of life. And since the network be-

gan its activities, it has expanded to include people from every province and has the support of such diverse groups as labor unions, the Anglican and United churches, farmers and fishermen. Said Rural Dignity co-ordinator Cynthia Patterson, who lives near Barrhead in Alberta on Quebec's Grand "People who don't agree on anything else agree on post office issues." But Canada Post spokesmen say that the group is overreacting and refusing to deal with the real issues. Declared Oliver Hilbert, Canada Post's director of rural services: "The fact that we are making changes frightens people. Rural Dignity is telling them we are deconstructing the service. That compromises our ability to do what we want and to benefit the community."

But, Rural Dignity members say that any benefits from the changes will only affect Canada Post—where officials developed the plan, in part, to help reduce the corporation's projected \$50-million deficit. Already, four rural post offices have closed and 145 have been contracted out to the private sector. At the same time, many postmasters in rural areas who resign, retire or die are not automatically being replaced. Instead, the corporation finds a local business—such as the general store

in Wilno—whose owners will agree to provide stamps and money orders over the counter, while residents pick up their mail from another superstore or local store. Robert Carr was once the postmaster in Kensington, P.E.I., serving 1,250 people. Now retired, Carr last week recalled one important function of a rural post office. "Letters would come in at Christmas addressed to 'Mary Smiths—the makes dresses,'" he said. "We would put the address on and send it on."

Indeed, many people say that they are loath to give up that kind of personal service and that a local post office is a major part of a town's identity. And Kathleen Van Dusen, a resident of the tiny Alberta town of McLaughlin, located 12 km west of the Saskatchewan border, says that Canada Post's plans will bring hardship to many rural communities. "McLaughlin has been almost folded up and put away," said the 49-year-old cleaning lady. "They've taken away our rail line, cut our bus—no one can come here any more. All that we have left is our post office."

So far, opponents say that their protests have failed to draw even a March, 1987, report from an all-party committee on government operations, chaired by Conservative MP Felix Holtzman, concluded that "Canada Post is not going to solve its fiscal problems by closing rural post offices or by changing rural postal services." Holtzman maintained that although there are benefits to the corporation, the changes are not a dollars-and-cents business. Said Holtzman: "The cost to the shifts in rural populations. We are not closing good offices; we are replacing them with something better. We are maintaining the image of the community and expanding the service."

But as the protest travels northward to wind their way through more than 120 towns, villages and hamlets across the country, Rural Dignity members say that they are holding out hope that their message will be heard. Letters of protest will be carried to Ottawa in R.C. apple boxes. Alberta oil circles, Saskatchewan wheat mills and Newfoundland lobster traps sent presented to a government representative next week. And perhaps then, Sarrs added, Canada Post officials will understand that, for many small-town residents, a post office is an integral part of rural life.

—NINA UNDERWOOD with ELAINE OTTE  
SHEILA in Edmonton, MELBA WACKENBUSH in  
Oshawa and VANDER MANSBOUT in Wilno



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# Sipping from Stanley

At 27, Wayne Gretzky is no longer a fresh-faced kid—and the hairstyle that he now favors reflects the blunt, no-nonsense approach taken by the Edmonton Oilers in this year's National Hockey League playoffs. Gretzky's hairstyle—very short, cut sideways and pushed like an up—gives him a lean, hungry look that matches Edmonton's drive to be one of the greatest sports dynasties of modern times. The Oilers took a giant step toward that goal last week in Edmonton by winning their fourth Stanley Cup with a convincing four-game sweep of the Boston Bruins. And for a team whose past triumphs relied heavily on dazzling displays of individual talent, coaches and players alike stressed that winning through disciplined team play was one of the secret ingredients of victory. Declared Edmonton associate coach John Mauer, "They were all good, but this is the best Oilers team to win the cup."



Jones (left) and Gretzky share a cup toast, a July wedding

such distractions, the Oilers brushed aside their playoff opponents, and the players quietly measured themselves against each great team of the past as

## The Soviet plan for NHL play

As a reward for winning the Olympic hockey championship in Calgary in February, 21 members of the Soviet national team traveled to Japan recently—and several players took the opportunity to return home with top-quality sports equipment as souvenirs of their five-day visit. Certainly, a sailing boat outmatched Japanese national squad provided little opportunity for the youth-sitting Soviets, and the visitors easily won a two-game exhibition series by lopsided scores of 10-4 and 13-2. But capacity crowds at Tokyo's 2,000-seat Saitama Arena saw a Soviet team that is clearly on the verge of change. Indeed, an easy May 29 victory in Japan likely marked the final game in the 11-year international career of team captain and defenseman Vyacheslav Petukhov. Next stop for the 30-year-old Petukhov and, eventually, several other veteran Soviet stars: the National Hockey League. Declared Petukhov, "I want to play in the NHL."

The big, speedy defenseman is scheduled to wear the red-and-green uniform of the

the Montreal Canadiens, the winners of five straight Stanley Cups between 1964 and 1969. Declared Gretzky, "The scary thing is we're going to be better next year."

It will be unsettling news for opposing checkers if Gretzky gets better. Within a year the game's most outstanding player has captured three championship trophies. He did so by underscoring a Canada Cup win over the Soviet national team last September between Edmonton's Stanley Cup victory over the Philadelphia Flyers in 1987 and their second defense of the cup last week. And for the second time in his career, Gretzky won the Conn Smythe Trophy as the most valuable player in NHL postseason play, amassing 45 points with 12 goals and a record-breaking 31 assists.

One play alone in Edmonton's 4-3 win in the final game over the Bruins had his coach Glena Sather grasping for superlatives. As the second period drew to a close, Gretzky gained control of the puck and then moved up ice, eluding a check near the Boston blue line. He hesitated briefly, then flicked the puck softly toward a corner of the net where winger Craig Simpson stood. Three rushing

New Jersey Devils—provided that Devils president Lou Lamonica and Soviet officials can agree on a transfer price for Petrov's services. According to Soviet Ice Hockey Federation spokesmen, that fee could be more than \$1 million. But seven other Soviet hockey stars who have also been drafted by NHL teams will have to wait at least one more year before moving to North America. That is because national team coach Viktor Tikhonov has expressed concern that the departure of more than one established star at a time would severely weaken the Soviet squad.

In any event, Soviet officials say that Petrov and his teammates have the physical skills to adapt to a league in which on-ice punch-ups and wrestling matches are frequent. Declared Yuri Karimov, a deputy director with the Soviet ministry of sport who accompanied the team to Tokyo, "Fighting is not difficult to learn, and our players are able to defend themselves." The Soviets say that Petrov's pending move is an experiment in head-lease hockey. And if it proves to be successful, North American hockey fans may one day see a Soviet citizen skating around an NHL rink—holding the Stanley Cup aloft in triumph.

—HAROLD GALT with GERRY BLUMBERG in Tokyo



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on the clock as Simpson redirected the pack past Steve Gaskender—and former Oiler—Andy Macg. Two seconds. Said Father: "You boys watching Wayne play since he was 17. He's a royalty. There's no one like him. He's a great example for every kid in this country."

Father himself said that he does not like to refer to the Oilers as a dynasty. Dubbed Father: "It makes you sound like you're bragging. When I think of a dynasty, I think of the Ming dynasty." Still, he has been careful to avoid a pitfall that is familiar to such great teams as the New York Islanders. In 1980 the Oilers declared that team, a collection of veteran operators that had remained largely intact since the Islanders won the first of four straight Stanley Cups in 1980. But only nine members of Edmonton's first championship team in 1984 have survived to celebrate the Oiler's fourth win last week. Kevin Lowe, a steady defenseman, is a member of that Old Guard and he said that he finds the full set of each season—taking the team's pulse—a bit more of a bitter-sweet occasion. Said Lowe: "Every year Skis [Joshi] makes changes, and you know that three or four guys who are in that picture are not going to be with the team next season."

Lowe, who steadily rated up for most of the playoffs with a broken wrist and three cracked ribs, is 39. But other key members of the team, including forward Mark Messier, Glenn Anderson and goaltender Grant Fuhr, are 37 years of age or younger. As a result, Lowe echoes Gendry's prediction that the Oilers will be a championship-caliber team for years to come. Said Lowe: "We want to win as many Stanley Cups as possible. I think we're one clip away from being recognized as the greatest hockey team of all time."

For each premier Oiler as Gendry, Fuhr, Messier and Anderson, the hockey season began 10 months ago when training camp opened for a tournament that resulted in a Team Canada victory over the Soviet national squad in Hamilton. Despite such grueling demands, Gendry still had enough energy to organize a team picture session at centre ice after the presentation of the Stanley Cup last week. And for the Great One, a period of accomplishment that already includes three championships will hold one more season—his last. His July 18 wedding date in Edmonton with U.S. actress Janet Jones said Gendry: "This puts the icing on the cake—having the Stanley Cup in our town at this time." Clearly, the team with the funny haircut is still too young to be old.

—MACLEOD GLOBE  
with TERRY JONES in Edmonton



Peckford (left), Power (right) spring an uneasy peace in the so-called Cucumber War

## AGRICULTURE

# A jolly green giant

A uneasy peace has broken out in the so-called Cucumber War between Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. Hostilities began on May 19 when Newfoundland Agriculture Minister Charles Power announced that the province hoped to conquer mainland cucumber markets. And shortly after the first invasion of the green—two truckloads of greenhouse-subsidized cukes—began rolling toward Halifax, Power said that his first objective was to put Nova Scotia greenhouse operators out of business. Declared Power: "We are going to say to you: We have a very well-thought-out plan." But Newfoundland's strategy of retarding cucumbers for as little as 50 cents each—50 cents lower than the production cost—backed off a storm of protest in Nova Scotia. In response, Premier Brian Peckford apologized to mainland growers last week for "any misunderstanding created through a misinterpretation" of Power's comments. And he denied that there was an "imminent plot" to take over the Maclean's cucumber markets.

But Peckford maintained that such a plan would collide with his government's policy of strengthening the free flow of goods between provinces. Thus in an attempt to eliminate the glare of unrelenting publicity, Peckford said that government members would "continue to work together to find a mutually beneficial solution to the cucumber marketing situation of a glut vegetable-growing operation near St. John's, Nfld.—including its related exports

to the mainland. But that tactic did not halt criticism of the government's joint venture with Calgary businessman Philip Spence, whose \$20-million project currently is producing seven million pounds of cucumbers annually in a soil-less environment in which plastic tubes supply the growing plants with chemical nutrients.

The Spence greenhouses—distinctive translucent pods spread over 5.4 acres—have already received \$14 million in provincial subsidies since they began operating last year. For their part, aggressive growers claim that the greenhouse's annual production far exceeds the needs of the province's 580,000 residents and that, as a result, it has forced the government to undertake such ventures as the attempted invasion of Nova Scotia markets. Now, according to provincial Liberal Leader Clyde Wells, the Great Cuke War has made Newfoundland the butt of jokes across Canada.

Certainly, Newfoundland's cucumber operators may have a harder time shouldering their way into mainland markets. A Halifax-based wholesale supplier, Closer Produce Ltd., purchased the shipment that sparked the marketing war two weeks ago. But as the cucumbers pile up in Newfoundland, a Closer spokesman said that the firm had temporarily cancelled further orders as a "precautionary measure."

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Kozowski (left), Hogan, Australian icon

other is America's John J. Rambo (Sylvester Stallone), the muscle-bound biker with the half-lit eyes who looks like a man trapped in the body of a cartoon superhero. Both men carry big knives. Rambo's blade hangs from his waist like a talisman, Dundee's is a discreet accessory, tucked away in a sheath under his ragged-skin vest. "Crocodile" Dundee II and Rambo III, which opened across North America last week, are the summer's designated hits, a pair of sequels conforming to the Hollywood rule that nothing succeeds like excess.

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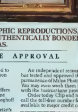
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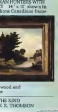
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ron. The thinly plotted sequel lacks the novelty of the original, but Hogan's resonance was still some fresh.

The first movie transplanted Dundee from the Australian outback to the streets of New York City; the sequel unfolds in reverse, picking up where the hero left off in Manhattan and eventually taking him back to Australia. Little American drug dealers chase him all the way to his outback turf, only to be outwitted by Dundee, his Aborigine allies and a discretionary force of snakes, lizards and bats. Tagging along for the ride once again is Dundee's journalist girlfriend (Claudia Kinnaman), who remains demure even as she is being kidnapped. But the show belongs entirely to Hogan, who, although he has become a cliché in his own time, still unleashes his backhanded humor with the touch of a booming muckiness.

Sylvester Stallone prefers heavier artillery. And whatever the star of *Rambo II* is trying to prove, it is no laughing matter. The man is pure meat. Basted with a bronze sweat in the heat of battle, Stallone does not act—he glimmers. Words issue from his mouth so rarely that it seems unnatural, so if an animal were suddenly breaking into speech, Stallone confines his remarks to a few grunts and the odd mumbled phrase, such as "I'm no terrorist." Mostly, he lets his body do the talking. He exposes himself only above the waist, but as the camera dates on his body, the effect verges on the pornographic: in an excruciating scene, Rambo sticks his fingers into a gaping wound in his side to fish out a long piece of shrapnel.

*Rambo II* is a nonstop orgy of military action. At a reported cost of \$69 million, it is touted as the most expensive movie ever made. Filmed primarily in Brazil, it is set in Soviet-occupied Afghanistan. Lured out of retirement from a monastery in Thailand, Rambo embarks on a mission to rescue his old friend and mentor, Col. Trautman (Richard Crenna), from a Soviet fort in the Afghan desert. There, the hero single-handedly quashes a fleet of tanks and helicopters. The stunts are spectacular, the locations are stunning, but the movie is relentlessly morose.

Although it is almost entirely unworkable, the script finds room for propaganda. An Afghan peasant tells of suicidal Soviet soldiers hugging their pregnant women and throwing them into fires. With Soviet troops now withdrawing from Afghanistan, Rambo's righteous barbarism seems especially anachronistic. Stallone—who relinquished his \$16-million fee for a cut of *Rambo II*'s box-office—(Hollywood's highest-paid mercenary) But history has already left him in the dust.

—BRIAN D. JOHNSON



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BOOKS

## Motherhood and monsters

THE FIFTH CHILD

By Doris Lessing

(Random House, 352 pages, \$19.95)

With more than 50 books to her credit, British novelist Doris Lessing is still able to astonish her readers. Her latest novel, *The Fifth Child*, is an unsettling and suspenseful horror story that raises difficult questions about human responsibility in the face of evil. In her fable about a monster-child born to a gentle family, Lessing has created a dark distortion of the quest for happiness that marked her earlier books—especially the powerful novel *The Four-Gated City*. And her tale is all the more chilling for its straightforward tone.

In the swinging 1960s, Harriet Walker and David Lessing meet at a party and immediately recognize each other's "old-fashioned" values. They soon marry and buy a large Victorian house outside London, where they embark on their unshakable dream of creating a large, happy family. Babies quickly fill the house, and the Lessings become the centre of an extended family whose members crowd around the kitchen table for endless cheerful meals. But the couple's contentment does not seem quite secure, in part because the novel's cool, clipped account never figures out why the gaps. In fact, Lessing seems impatient with the strangeness of the Lessings, but that they are happy because they have chosen to be.

Harriet's difficult fifth pregnancy suggests something dangerous, even sinister. When the baby, Ben, is born, he is so ugly that even his mother thinks he resembles "a wolf, or a goblin". Harriet later refers to him as a "Neanderthal." While still a baby, Ben strangles a dog and cut and apparently takes pleasure in hurting his siblings. The family decides to place him in an institution, but Harriet rescues him when she discovers his brutal methods. Harriet is then left to cope with Ben alone, while her increasingly alienated husband divides his time between his job and caring for the other children,

until they leave for private schools or the homes of welcoming relatives. Meanwhile, doctors and teachers, flabbergasted with inadequate labels such as "slow learner," refuse to accept the possibility that the monstrous child is some kind of genetic throwback. The teenage Ben becomes a delinquent, drifting from one violent gang to another.

Ben may be a judgment on the Lo-

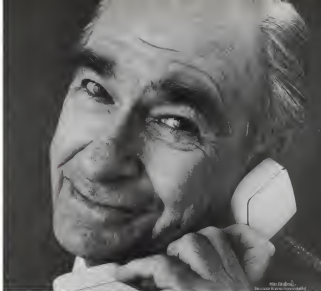


Lessing after 50 books, a case of a Neanderthal baby

ving and, by extension, on people's aspirations to security. Or he may be a primitive and surreal part of the human race that is now in jeopardy. Lessing does not explain, instead, it is clear only that the Lessings intend to sell their beloved Victorian house, the symbol of their self-absorbed dream.

For Lessing, the modern age has become more barbarous, and her vision has grown progressively bleaker. The urgent tone that marked her best work has given way to a grim pragmatism about the limited possibilities of social reform and happiness in human relations. That suits the nightmare world that she has depicted in *The Fifth Child* and earlier, in the 1985 novel *The Good Terrorist*. In Lessing's world, the most primitive places are now just around the corner.

—BRIAN DELANEY



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# The power and the risks of Accutane

Accutane is a powerful prescription drug that can cure cystic acne, a severely disfiguring skin disorder. But if pregnant women take the capsules, U.S. Food and Drug Administration researchers say that the vitamin-A derivative can cause facial deformities and violent brain and heart development in unborn children. In 1982 the FDA approved the sale of Accutane only on the condition that its manufacturer, Hoffmann-La Roche Inc., insert strongly worded warnings in Accutane packages. Those insert cautions women not to take the drug during pregnancy. Declared Dr. Norman Levine, chief of dermatology at the University of Arizona medical school in Tucson: "We have to decide whether we want to be spared a relatively few potentially disastrous birth defects or go for the greatest good for the greatest number."

But in April FDA researchers estimated that as many as 1,800 U.S. babies with severe birth defects could have been born to Accutane users since 1982. They projected these national figures by extrapolating the results of a Blackman study that involved about 1,000 women. And in Ottawa, federal health officials report that since Accutane has been available in Canada in 1983, at least three newborns—and three fetuses—exhibited gross malformations. For its part, the company disputes the U.S. projections, arguing that there have been 71 confirmed cases of birth defects worldwide that were caused by the drug. Those defects include mental retardation, abnormally small jaws, and ears growing below the chin.

FDA researchers later revised their projections and now estimate that 597 birth defects have been caused by Accutane. But some Canadian and U.S. physicians still want to ban Accutane, a drug that is generally known as *isotretinoin*. Indeed, Dr. Geoffrey Gub-

ley, the director of the division of birth defects and developmental disabilities at the Centers for Disease Control in Atlanta, has compared the adverse effects of the drug to those produced by thalidomide. It is a sedative that was widely prescribed to pregnant women in the 1960s, causing about 6,000 babies to suffer such defects as missing



Misses on acne cuts and warnings for pregnant women

limbs and lippened lips and feet. Declared Gubley: "We want to make the point that this drug is as bad as thalidomide."

Officials at Hoffmann-La Roche—the company sold \$6 million worth of Accutane in 1987 alone—acknowledge that the drug can be hazardous if women do not heed the printed warnings in the package. Said company spokeswoman Carolyn Glynn: "The teratogenic risk does seem to come with this class of drugs."

In response to public alarm following the release of the FDA report, der-

matological experts conducted reviews weighing the risks and benefits of Accutane and reported their findings to the U.S. and Canadian governments. But last month Dr. Agnes Klein, chief of the dermatological division of Health and Welfare Canada, said that Ottawa would not take the drug off the market. Declared Klein: "It is a necessary drug even though it is known to cause malformations. Its usefulness warrants taking extra precautions. You cannot deny people something that is good for them." Added the University of Arizona's Levine: "For those who would end up with a face full of scars, this drug is a godsend."

Klein and her committee of dermatology experts drafted several recommendations regarding the use of Accutane. One of these provisions that the federal government is now studying would require physicians to conduct pregnancy tests on women before prescribing the drug. Similarly, members of a U.S. medical advisory committee have also recommended tighter controls in the FDA. They urged, among other measures, that the distribution of Accutane be transferred from pharmacists to a limited number of physicians certified to handle the drug. Declared Dr. Harold Niman, a committee member and associate professor of dermatology at Howard University school of medicine in Washington: "Physicians

are not going to sit down and tell a patient what they need to know. We need cooperation between patients and physicians."

FDA spokesmen said that the agency would take action on the recommendations before the end of June. But those measures will come too late for hundreds of mothers. For them and their deformed children, a drug that promises relief for many victims of severe acne has brought only pain and suffering.

—ANNE STERNY with JIAN KUSTEN in Washington and PAUL GARNER in Ottawa

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## ART

# A painter and a prophet

Among the first works encountered by visitors to the Paul-Émile Borduas retrospective at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts are two modestly scaled canvases, both painted in 1941. One, *Still Life, Principale and Pensive*, is a scrubby and rather conventional work obviously influenced by the French painter Paul Cézanne.

The other, *Green Abstraction*, is altogether different: an amorphous green shape, striped and bordered with touches of red, looms over a murky ground. It was, Quebec painter Borduas said in 1966, his "first totally non-permeated painting," a work that opened a rift from his subconscious. *Green Abstraction* also marked a leap in Borduas's development from an accomplished but essentially provincial painter into the father of Modernism in Canada.

Since his death from a heart attack in 1980—he was 44—the artist has achieved mythical stature. Canada's first major abstract painter, Borduas became known as a prophet of Quebec's Quiet Revolution in the 1960s, the painter who, in both his work and his passionate manifestos, flamed Quebec art from the stifling grip of the Roman Catholic Church that the Montreal exhibition—which runs until Aug. 7—returns Borduas to a less heroic reality. Unlike most retrospectives, which highlight an artist's work, the exhibition chronicles Borduas's entire career, including 147 oils, sculptures and works on paper that he exhibited almost up to the time of his death. By re-creating his working life, curator François-Marc Gagné casts light on the way Borduas perceived his own paintings and the art world to which he belonged.

Borduas's early training seems to have had more in common with the Renaissance than the 20th century. Born in 1905 in St-Hilaire, a village near Montreal, to a carpenter and his wife, he left school at 18 and eventually became an apprentice church decorator. His first job involved stenciling, gesso, levers in a chapel ceiling. And in his

drawing exercises, Borduas copied Italian old master drawings. In 1923 he enrolled in Montreal's Ecole des beaux-arts and graduated four years later. Then, Borduas stuffed with crafts as stilled glass in France. But when he returned to Canada the Depression had begun, and not even the church had money to spend on decoration.



One of Borduas's gouaches from the early 1940s: intuitive

Borduas spent the next decade in obscurity, earning his living teaching. Where he did begin exhibiting his paintings in Montreal, in the early 1940s, it was in out-of-the-way locations, where he showed his increasingly abstract works indulged by French surrealist writer André Breton, he attempted to create what he called "automatic" paintings—works executed quickly and intuitively. It was an approach that influenced a number of Quebec artists, including his pupil, Jean-Paul Riopelle, who went on to receive more recognition than his teacher. Gagné has recreated part of a 1942 show from a Montreal theatre lobby, where Borduas exhibited

45 paintings in gouache, a water-based medium that allows for rapid execution. They are some of the freshest works in the exhibition.

Working with oil paint in the 1950s, Borduas never quite captured the spontaneity of these gouaches. Still, he devised a technique of allowing for a free play of the subconscious, which entailed first painting a ground and then adding strokes and blobs of color with a palette knife. The paintings of that period, with their often aquatic-like settings, are full of unexpected elements of color.

In 1948 Borduas, clearly feeling increasingly restricted in Quebec, wrote *Réflexe Global* (global reflex), a revolutionary text that denounced the provincial, deeply conservative, clerically controlled society. The manifesto, published in Montreal and signed by 18 other artists, brought Borduas instant notoriety. It also cost him his teaching job and led him in 1953 to travel to New York City and, later, Paris, where he worked until his death.

Although some of his small works on paper attest to the influence of action painter Jackson Pollock, Borduas never adopted the vast scale of American artists. In his Paris years his paintings became increasingly abstract as he gravitated toward black and white. Sometimes there are excursions into what is almost Japanese calligraphy, as in *Abstraction in Blue* (1956), a painting whose richness is created with only four or five strokes. Borduas's final painting, the one that was found on his easel in his Paris studio, seems prophetic. The loose balance of his earlier works, between screaming fields of white and dense areas of black, has gone. The painting is invaded with a tur-fie black shape that all but blocks out the light.

In addition to tracing much of the artist's difficult career, Gagné has reassembled the reviews Borduas received from art critics. On the whole, they make it evident that Borduas never quite established himself in the world's major art venues. But whatever regret, Borduas lives while alive in every sense offset by the exhibition's careful, attractive treatment. It is a show that re-establishes Borduas as the liberator of Quebec painting.

—GEOFFREY JAMES









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